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The *Watari To* seem to have had a social organization similar to the aboriginals of Hokkaidō, that is, not far advanced from a primitive communal society. This may be because the *Watari To* were basically Japanized Ezo from Ōu. Those of the Yamato race who were among them seemed to have adapted themselves to the lives of the Ezo or were in the process of so doing.

In later years the campaigns between the imperial families and the military families extended to the Ōu region and, as a result of continuous warfare among the great clans, those who looked forward to new opportunities in a new world moved into Hokkaidō. These later immigrants are clearly distinguished from the Ezo. They not only lived as Japanese, but had an advanced state of social organization—the feudal.

Those with power built forts called *Yakata*, ruled over the people within their territory and eventually came under the control of the Andō clan of Tsugaru. The Andō were related to and successors of the Abe as feudal lords of the north.

In 1456 the area between Shiokubisaki in the east and Atsusabu Kawa in the west became the central area of settlement for the mainlanders. Although they lived among the Ezo from Mukawa in the east to Yoichi in the west, they tended to settle at points along the coast.<sup>9</sup> The cause of this movement may be explained on the same grounds as those which guide our national development southward. However at this stage there is still no significant native policy. It only becomes of significance when the Matsumae unite the mainlanders and present a solid front of opposition to the natives. The expansion of the immigrant colonists was bound to come into conflict with the interests of the natives. The immigrants were mostly fishermen. In those days, when commerce was undeveloped, the rulers depended for their livelihood on taxes in kind collected from these fishermen, else at times the clans themselves were obliged to engage in fishing, as pointed out by the author of the *Ezo Koku Shiki* [Private Records, of the Ezo country].<sup>10</sup> Therefore, as the number of im-

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who were either captured or who voluntarily accepted Japanese rule were called *ifu* while Japanese who married Ezo or who left the Japanese limits to accept Ezo life and rule, and there was a surprising number of these, were called *fushū*. Therefore, it is logical for old Japanese records to consider a group as of the Ezo and yet separate from them.

<sup>9</sup> *Shiragi no Kiroku* (copy in the Hakodate Library), 15.

<sup>10</sup> *Ezo Koku Shiki* says, "In those days when the Matsumae came to the country there were no officials on duty there and no vessels from other countries but only a few ships from Zennan Bu and Tsugaru and, because there were no houses as today, only a few fishermen. When a vessel did enter port the crew would stay at the homes of retainers and managers, there being no inn and they would depart as soon as they had completed their business, so there was but little exchange. From early times to today cultivated land has been scarce, the topography being mountainous. Ground rent was left unpaid and the warriors engaged in fishing. . . ." The record goes on to illustrate how, regardless of rank or caste, all engaged, during the herring season, in fishing. "In the homes of retainers and stewards even the women and servants, leaving

174 regions as were not strongly influenced by the Japanese are valuable materials provided they are used with care. I have, therefore, sought my materials, as much as possible, from these sources and have used archaeological investigation only as complementary materials.

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144 It is still an open question whether the people called the Ezo in ancient times are the present-day Ainu. Recent excavations indicate that at least in northeastern Hokkaidō there lived a tribe whose culture and constitution differed from those of the present Ainu and whose descendants had existed until relatively recent times. While it cannot be said with certainty that the present-day Ainu are the Ezo recorded by history it seems that the majority of the Ezo, especially those who came into contact with the Japanese and of whom we have records, were Ainu. Therefore, taking what we know of the present Ainu together with what records do exist on the life of the Ezo, we will have, without serious error, raw material on the life of the Ezo of the past.

#### 1. ECONOMIC LIFE

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184 There is little doubt that the Ainu were living in Friedrich List's or Richard Eely's "hunting and fishing stage." By the time records of them began to appear they were already engaged in crude agriculture with millet, barnyard grass, and turnips as the main products. [241] This was in the southwestern part of the island where climatic conditions were favorable and where they came in frequent contact with the Japanese. In other parts of the island dogs, which are advanced domestic animals, were used and the people had progressed from the stage where they relied on natural food to growing food themselves. However this use of agriculture was primarily due to the influence of neighboring peoples and food was still chiefly obtained from natural sources, the products of agriculture and dog-breeding being only supplements, so that they were still a hunting and fishing people. Their food, which was very simply prepared, consisted mainly of flesh obtained by hunting and fishing and a few vegetables to add to their diet.<sup>1</sup> 262 For clothing they had, since ancient times, made textiles from vegetable fibers called *Attushi* [elm bark cloth] or *Reteruppe* [hemp cloth]. Judging from the methods used and the tools discovered, their textile techniques were imported from Japan either directly or indirectly.<sup>2</sup> [288] and previous to this importation clothes of *Uri* [animal skin], *Rapuri* [feathers] and *Akumi* [fish skins] which were respectively, the skins of animals, birds, and fish, had been sewn together with tendons and grass fibers,<sup>3</sup> [177] and *Kera* [straw coats] had been used. Those areas

<sup>1</sup> Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu no seikatsu to minzoku* (Ainu life and customs) in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 131 ff. Tsuru Hideo, *Ainu no inshokubatsu ni tsuite* (On Ainu food and drink), *Tōkyō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (TJZ) 16: 398 ff.

<sup>2</sup> *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 17.

<sup>3</sup> Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Ainu jisei no ifuku* (Handmade clothes of the Ainu), *Hokkaidō Jinruigaku Zasshi* (HJZ) No. 1: 5 ff.



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which had no contact with the Japanese had no knowledge of textile techniques until comparatively recent times.<sup>4</sup>

Those areas

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Since they depended wholly upon the Japanese for the refining of iron, their tools, prior to the importation of iron in large amounts, were of stone and bone and, even on the eve of the Meiji [1868-1912] period, stone and bone tools were the only ones possessed by the Ainu of the remoter regions. Most of the Stone Age remains now being unearthed in Hokkaidō are Ainu remains. The Ainu knew how to make earthenware although in later years both the making and use of this ware was forgotten as they relied upon imports from Japan.<sup>5</sup> Bows and arrows (poison arrows and spring bows) along with traps constituted their only hunting weapons.<sup>6</sup> In fishing *Opu* or spears were used and in salmon fishing a heavy club of about two feet in length called *Isabakiku* was wielded. Fishing nets called *Ya* were in use but they were merely crude hand scoops made of ropes of *Shinakō* [*Tilia japonica*—Japanese linden]. They had fish traps called *Urai-teshi*<sup>7</sup> and in tombs fishhooks of bone have been discovered.<sup>8</sup>

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These all are primitive hunting and fishing tools. Clubs, spears, and bows and arrows were all used but the decisive weapon was the poisoned arrow.<sup>9</sup> Canoes were used for hunting, fishing, and transportation. Those used on swamps and rivers were three-four-man canoes but offshore navigation called for a rather large dugout with boards fastened to the side by vines and operated with mat sails of coarse grasses and double paddles. Their wealth "usually consisted of dwellings, clothing, ornaments and the simple tools with which they obtained and prepared their food, ~~tools~~ weapons and crude furnishings." This condition ~~records~~ with that state described by Engels as the "Lower Stage of Barbarism"<sup>10</sup> and even of this wealth they possessed little. The culture of the Ainu can be traced back to Morgan's "Upper State of Savagery" or, from the fact that they

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<sup>4</sup> Kindaichi Kyōsuke in *Saihō Zuihitsu*, 121 ff. "The women did not know how to sew. When *Attushi* woven by alien natives was shown to them they would ask where it was made and when we replied that it was woven by women living in another part of the country they were amazed since not one of them could weave even a basket. They thought that the women who had woven the *Attushi* must be godlike persons." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Mōi Tōkanki* (Narrative of the hairy aborigines of the Eastern region) in *Higashi Ezoichi Kikō* (*Etorofuto Kikō*). 1806 [Travels in Eastern Ezo] [Travels in Etorofu Island].

<sup>5</sup> Kōnō Tsunekichi, *Hi Koropukkuru Ron* (The anti-Koropukuru argument), *Sapporo Hakubutsu Gakkai Kaihō* 2.

<sup>6</sup> John Batchelor, *The Ainu and their folklore*, chap. 39.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.* chap. 43 [stakes driven into stream beds in arrow head form with point downstream. The spaces between the stakes are fitted with branches while the point is open and covered with a net].

<sup>8</sup> Saisenkaï ed., *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collected papers on the primitive culture of Hokkaidō), 30-31.

<sup>9</sup> *Ibid.*, 47-51.

<sup>10</sup> F. Engels, *Der Ursprung der Familie, des Privateigentums und des Staats*, 66.

114 knew how to make earthenwares, the latter period of  
181 Barbarism<sup>11</sup> or according to Müller-Lyer the period  
of the advance from the highest hunting stage.<sup>12</sup> But  
the Ainu living in the period we are about to study led  
a much more advanced life.

177 The Ainu were not an isolated people. In the north  
648 they came into contact with the nomadic Oroko and  
Gilyak on Karafuto. A strong Manchurian influence  
was introduced through trade with the Santan across the  
sea while Karafuto itself was, in effect, a Manchurian  
colony exerting influence on the Okhotsk coast of  
Hokkaidō.<sup>13</sup> To the south the Ainu were continuously  
in contact with Japanese culture.<sup>14</sup> If it is true, as  
common opinion holds it to be, that the *Watari To*  
mentioned in the *SDE* were Ezo who moved from the  
Ōu region,<sup>15</sup> then the influence of Japan dates back more  
than a millennium and in fact recent excavations tend  
to prove this.<sup>16</sup> However, communication between the  
Ezo and the Japanese had been frequent even before  
that; that the Ezo were strongly influenced can be seen  
[172] from the discovery of both Jomon and Yayoi earthen-  
wares in Ezo regions.<sup>18</sup> To the east the Ainu had,  
from early times, been in contact with the natives of  
the Kuriles and Kamchatka.<sup>17</sup> The most dominant in-  
fluence of all of these culture contacts was the Japanese,  
with the Manchurian second. Japanese culture was  
higher than the others and the Ainu were in contact  
with it over a longer period of time and they were closer  
to the Japanese central government. Japanese contacts  
with the Ezo were not limited to the southwestern  
regions but extended also to Sōya and Akkeshi and  
even to Karafuto and the Kuriles. Under these diverse  
influences the economic culture of the Ezo gradually  
improved. The introduction of vegetable fibre cloth  
[291] completely changed the clothing habits of the Ainu and,  
while cotton when first imported from Japan was used

<sup>11</sup> Morgan, *Ancient society*, 10.

<sup>12</sup> Müller-Lyer, *Phasen der Kultur und Richtungslinie des Fortschrittes*.

[107] <sup>13</sup> Santan was a catch-all word used to denote both the continental area across from the island of Karafuto and the people in that area. It comes from *Janta* or "nomads" a Gilyak name for the nomadic tribes who lived between the Amur River and the sea. The Ainu corrupted *Janta* into Santan and the Japanese picked up the term. The Gilyak lived in the Amur estuary area. Oroko is the Ainu term for the Manchurian tribes that lived on Karafuto. See J. Harrison, *Kita Yezo Zusetsu* or a description of the Island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsō, *Proc. Amer. Phil. Soc.* 99 (2): 96-97, 1955.

<sup>14</sup> Yonemura Kioe, *Kitami Kyōdo Shimo* (Local history of Kitami), 12.

<sup>15</sup> Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Ainu Kenkyū* (Ainu studies), 367 ff.

<sup>16</sup> Kōnō Hiromichi, *Hassabu mura no iseki hakikatsu ki* (Report on the excavations of the ruins at Hassabu) and Takakura Shinichirō, *Hassabu mura no iseki ni tsuite* (On the excavations at Hassabu), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 10.

<sup>17</sup> *Hokkaidō Genshi Bunka Shuei*, 21 [Jomon and Yayoi are type names for the stone age pottery of Japan].

<sup>18</sup> Torii Ryūzō, *Kyōkuto Minzoku* (Races of the Far East), 304-310.

177 as a ceremonial garment, it gradually came to take the  
 [291] place of all skin cloths. In the same way the importa-  
 [323] tion of iron did away with bone and stone tools and  
 [222] Japanese manufactured goods replaced earthenware to  
 the point where the method of making this ware was  
 forgotten. Fishing gear made a particularly rapid  
 improvement. The primitive fish net was replaced by  
 the improved Japanese net and the materials from which  
 these nets were made changed from bark to hemp  
 thread while iron points were used on the fish spears.  
 It is believed that iron imports had a great influence on  
 harpoons which were called *Hanare* and on hooks  
 fastened to wooden poles called *Mareppu*. As the  
 [412] imports of small knives, large knives (choppers—  
 machetes), sickles, etc., grew the economy became more  
 and more varied. Significant was the development of  
 178 agriculture and the increased use of dogs. Agriculture  
 241 had, previously, been carried on in a haphazard way.  
 Only small areas were planted which yielded little and  
 this little was considered a luxurious supplement to  
 the hunting and fishing catch. But this changed and  
 by the early part of the eighteenth century the area  
 under cultivation extended from Shakotan peninsula in  
 the west to Shiraoi in the east and agricultural products  
 were becoming important especially in tiding the tribes  
 over the winter.<sup>18</sup>

231 In the northwest, where agriculture was undeveloped,  
 784 dogs played an important economic role. These dogs  
 [262] were not only used in hunting but also furnished meat  
 [291] and skin clothing during the winters. These people  
 [492] were skilled dog breeders and the Karafuto Ainu, in-  
 fluenced by the continental peoples, used dogs for  
 hauling and transportation.<sup>19</sup> Here we have a people  
 still in a hunting and fishing economy but developing  
 techniques that were to prepare them for either an  
 agricultural or a stock-raising economy. In addition to  
 their regular livelihood, trading added to their wealth.  
 439 At first they traded only the surplus of their necessities.  
 [177] small in quantity and limited in variety. After the  
 infiltration of techniques from Japan the variety and  
 quantity of their goods increased and their labor, which  
 hitherto they had used only for the production of the  
 necessities of life, they turned to making goods for trade.

439 With these goods as a medium of exchange they began  
 556 to accumulate wealth. They especially prized brocade,  
 gems, and other decorations from Santan and swords.  
 lacquer and ornaments from Japan, and the measure of  
 wealth became the accumulation of these objects which  
 were not only symbols of wealth but the prime medium  
 for the purchase of fishing grounds<sup>20</sup> and which under  
 the name *Ashinpe* could be made payment for crimes

[681] in lieu of The death PENALTY

<sup>18</sup> Takakura Shinichirō, *Ainu no nōgyō* (Ainu agriculture), *Nōgyō Keizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

<sup>19</sup> Mamiya Rinsō, *Kita Ezo Zuesetsu* (A description of the island of Northern Ezo).

<sup>20</sup> *Kyūdojin no densetsu oyobi jijū dan* (Aboriginal legend and fact), *Shokumin Kohō*, No. 42.

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The effect of the *Basho* system can be seen in that the income from *Unjokin* alone in the year 1804 reached approximately 7,000 ryō.<sup>9</sup> This growth in profits was partly due to the salesmanship of the contractors and partly to their capital development of new markets which till then had been out of reach of the mainland trade but it was mostly due to the introduction of new merchandise, the improvement in the system of production, and a change in the method of operations. Wholesale houses were set up in Fukuyama in 1723 and in Hakodate in 1748. Small post houses were built in Fukuyama in 1729 and in Hakodate in 1748.<sup>10</sup> The market expanded and not only did those already in existence in the Ōu, Hokuriku, and Kinki [Ōsaka-Kyōtō] regions increase but this trade reached into Edo<sup>11</sup> itself and from 1739, dried sea cucumber, tangle and white abalone shell were exported from Japan in sacks as "Nagasaki" goods.<sup>12</sup> With this growth of the market the Ezo trade became large scale and, when the restrictions which permitted only small corded vessels were lifted and large nailed ships entered the trade, the quantity of goods in trade rose.<sup>13</sup> However, there was a limit to the returns within the same *Bashos*, especially when the same old methods were continued, and the contractors naturally sought new markets and new methods.

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The goal of the mainland traders had been to exploit the interior of the island and, after the 1669 incident, this tendency was accentuated. Up to the last decade of the seventeenth century it was generally held that Akkeshi was as far as vessels could go on the east coast, but gradually they went further, first to Kiritappu, then to Nokkamapu, and in 1751 a *Basho* was established in Kunashiri and trading rights were acquired in the Kuriles.<sup>14</sup> On the west coast, 1772 saw the exploitation of fishing grounds east of Sōya in Mombetsu, in Shari and in Karafuto where trading posts were set up by Murayama Denbei.<sup>15</sup> The contractor Hidayu Kyuhei who operated in Kiritappu, Kunashiri, and Akkeshi opened new *Basho* in 1787 in areas where no

1700 ryō from Ezo autumn taxes. Misc. taxes from farms and on imports are omitted. *Hokkai Zuihitsu*.

<sup>9</sup> *Unjō* payments.

<sup>10</sup> *Heishin Jōtetsu* 3. According to Mogami Tokunai the income of the Matsumae during 1804 was total tax receipts of 7,033 ryō, 2 bu and 1,741 kan, 434 mon in other monies.

<sup>11</sup> *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 257-258.

<sup>12</sup> Shirayama Tomomasa, Matsumae Ezoichi no shōbin ni tsuite (In regard to the merchandise of the Matsumae Ezo area), *Shiro Isen*, No. 49.

<sup>13</sup> Shirayama Tomomasa, Tokugawa Bakufu no kanei shōgyō no ichirei (An example of state operated commerce during the Tokugawa period), *Shakai Keizai Shigaku* 3 (4).

<sup>14</sup> *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 401.

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, 125.

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<sup>16</sup> "Denbei again contracted for the Sōya area from the end of 1775 to mid-1782 and teaching the Ezo methods for catching herring, trout and salmon developed such new areas as Shamori and Mombetsu and where fish were abundant cabins and guard houses were established." Murayama Denbei Rireki (Personal records of Murayama Denbei).

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chants tried to lower costs by increasing production and by trading on a much larger scale.

The Ezo fished with hand nets or primitive spears and their catch was small in quantity, quality, and variety. In addition, their catch seemed to decrease each year. The more thoughtful contractors began to teach the natives new and better ways to fish. Even in the Matsumae area herring had been caught with hand scoops and salmon and trout with hooks. It was not until the beginning of the eighteenth century that gill nets and drag nets were used. In Ezo *Hanare* [harpoons] and *Mareppu* [a gaff] were used to catch river fish while for herring a primitive net made of linden bark was used. During the time of Matsumae Norihiro (about the time when the *Basho* system was emerging) fishing methods were still primitive.<sup>22</sup> The contractors taught the Ainu how to make and use nets and before long drag and gill nets were in common use in Ezo and toward the end of this period the natives were even using set nets.<sup>23</sup> Fishing boats were improved and, in addition to *Mochippu* [row boats] which had been in use, larger boats, called *Sampasen* [four to five feet in width], *Hotsusen*, [three to four feet in width], and *Isobune* [less than three feet in width] were adopted which contributed greatly to an increase in production.<sup>24</sup> Dried sea cucumber, an important export product for Nagasaki had been taken by spear but the Japanese introduced the use of nets.<sup>25</sup> Murayama Denbei improved the method of taking sea cucumber in the Sōya area.<sup>26</sup> Tangle used to be cut by divers who used sickles. During the last quarter of the eighteenth century a new method of cutting them from boats was introduced.<sup>27</sup> The preparation of the catch had been as primitive as the techniques for taking it, salmon were gutted, dried, and smoked for trading<sup>28</sup> but the Japanese bought fresh salmon, salted it and exported it as saltfish or dried spiced fish,<sup>29</sup> while herring,

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<sup>22</sup> *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 206.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 406. Also, according to *Echigo Kariha Gun Arahama hiki ami seizo no Enkaku* (History of the manufacture of herring and salmon nets in Arahama, Kariha gun, Echigo) in *Hokutsu Shiryō Sōsho* (Library of materials on northern Echigo). It was in 1673 that this village had contact with the Matsumae in regard to nets but it was not until almost a century later that nets came to be commonly used and it was at this later period that improvements were made and the nets came into wide use.

<sup>24</sup> Murao Motonaga, ed., *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō* (Outline of the Hokkaidō fishing industry), 344.

<sup>25</sup> *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 216.

<sup>26</sup> "From 1750 to 1755 I contracted for Sōya in West Ezo . . . the Ezo knew no other way of taking sea cucumber but with their three pronged spear which was a very slow method. Therefore I had those who were familiar with more efficient methods teach these Ezo who gradually learned the new ways and soon the number of Ezo catching sea cucumber increased as did the catch." Murayama Denbei *Ririki*.

<sup>27</sup> Takakura Shimichirō, *Fūdo Yōranshū* (Account of a sight-seeing trip through the natural features), *Ezo Ōrai*, No. 12.

<sup>28</sup> *Hokkaidō Gyogyō Shiyō*, 406.

<sup>29</sup> *Hokkaidō Shi* 1: 406.

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\*175 trout, and other fish were sold not only as food but as  
\*648 fertilizer and shipped to the Kansai markets as oil  
251 cake.<sup>20</sup> Abalone had been dried into a product of a dark  
177 color with a slight value as merchandise. The con-  
439 tractors made these into dried white sea ear shell for  
A export to Nagasaki.<sup>21</sup> New methods of preparing  
F tangle were introduced into remote areas. These ad-  
vancements in technique required large capital. The  
simple tools of the Ezo had been made by themselves  
or else rented from contractors for a share of the catch.

\*175 But as the tools improved their manufacture passed be-  
\*648 yond the ability of the Ezo, so the Japanese established  
[412] shops under the supervision of mainlanders who used  
464 Ezo labor to make them. In addition, as the contractors  
439 expanded the area of their activities, they operated the  
new fishing grounds by themselves using Ainu labor.

The entire expansion of the fishing industry was prob-  
ably accelerated by two factors, the new market in the  
Kansai region for oil cake and the use of large nets.

Inevitably there arose a change in the economic re-  
lationship between the Ezo and the Japanese. Hitherto  
the Ezo had worked independently of the contractors  
and had come to the post to trade only his surplus above  
what he needed for food and clothing. This meant a  
small scale trade which could only be surmounted by  
such devices as advancing loans to the natives so that  
when the Ezo paid for the loans out of their own  
produce they had also to repay the value of the goods.<sup>22</sup>

On the other hand, the contractors, with their im-  
provements and regulations, made it possible greatly to  
increase the catch. (The dried sea cucumber trade in  
the Sōya area is an example of the advanced regulation  
of production.) During fishing season the Ezo in  
bands of thirty to fifty, would come to the trade post  
with their chief. Borrowing such things as rice, sake,  
yeast, tobacco, and tools for taking sea cucumber they  
would go out fishing. With their boats loaded with  
sea cucumber they would return to the post where  
clerks would record the catch. This was to prevent  
pilfering before the catch was dried and delivered.

After being checked in the Ezo would take the catch  
home, boil them, and skewer them either over a fire or  
out in the sun after which the sea cucumbers were taken  
back to the post. There Ezo women worked under  
foremen taking the sea cucumbers off the skewers and  
packing them for shipment. The Ezo also were used  
to load the boats.<sup>23</sup>

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\*175 The trade between the contractors and the Ezo was  
[452] not a mere trading process but a system of credit. No  
\*648 longer were the chiefs men of character but merely  
177 supervisors for the contractor. Small scale fishing could  
226 not be much improved by the use of nets but large  
439 scale fishing, i.e. salmon, trout, and herring, was oper-  
ated by the contractors themselves who were no longer

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 403, 407.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid., 410.

<sup>22</sup> See chap. 2, para. 3 and para. 4.

<sup>23</sup> Igen Zokuso 1, on catching sea cucumbers.



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 \*175 commercial capitalists but industrial capitalists. The  
 •177 Ezo were completely under contractor control, working  
 \*648 as laborers, and Ezo changed from a commercial colony  
 439 to an exploited colony. Around the posts were built  
 [44] guardhouses where the guards, who took their orders  
 from the merchants, used the natives as labor in fishing.  
 This change became obvious in the period falling from  
 the 1780's through the 1790's and, since the trade was  
 opened in various regions of Ezo at various times, so  
 did this change come into operation at various times.  
 Just as the Ezo trade penetrated gradually into remote  
 areas, so did this phenomenon of change, dependent on  
 local products and conditions, penetrate. The *Hokkai*  
*Zuishitsu* notes:

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 [437] The merchants entered into contracts with nearby villages  
 and, paying taxes to the Matsumae, employed the Ezo for  
 fishing, the products of which they sold to other countries.  
 The Ezo living in remote areas bartered their goods  
 directly with the merchants. The merchants could also  
 enter these remote areas by paying taxes to the Matsumae.

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 \*175 Thus in those days, while the Ezo living near Matsumae  
 \*648 were employees, the Ezo living remote from Matsumae  
 437 were still in the barter stage. The *Matsumae Ezo*  
 450 *Ki* shows a further development in *Basho* operation:  
 "There are sixty-one places in Ezo where the Ezo are  
 paid in advance without any goods being delivered, the  
 Ezo later bringing in whatever goods they are told to  
 bring in their boats, thus the merchants make profits on  
 various articles." This method became more and more  
 popular until in the 1780's it was practiced as far away  
 as Kunashiri. Differences in operational methods were  
 also due to the type of product handled.

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 [437] 1. Hawks, eagle feathers, and animal skins. These  
 could not be obtained on a large scale. Therefore, it  
 was better to let the Ainu retain their primitive methods  
 of hunting them and carry on without capital advances  
 or new equipment. The merchants acquired these by  
 barter.

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 \*175 2. Sea cucumber and tangle. While not available  
 \*648 on a large scale, wherever labor could be organized a  
 439 credit system was established.

\*175 3. Salmon, trout, and herring. Here large-scale  
 \*648 production was possible and the entrepreneur himself  
 439 took over management of the enterprise.

The products in group (1) were limited and their  
 continued delivery was only assured by exploiting new  
 territory. Naturally, the trade shifted inland and as  
 the trade in this group decreased the trade in the pro-  
 ducts of groups (2) and (3) became more important.

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 \*175 These three types of products brought about a  
 \*648 change in the social standing of the Ezo. Those Ezo  
 433 who dealt in group (1) retained their position as inde-  
 554 pendent producers and were on equal terms while those  
 437 Ezo who dealt in the products of group (2) appeared to  
 be independent producers but were actually subject to  
 the contractor as a component of the enterprise. The  
 group (3) Ezo were laborers employed by the mer-  
 chants. Thus the political position of these Ezo became

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was no breaking of the regulations the *Omusha* was gradually omitted and only the *Uetotsukobaku* party was held at departure time. Since the *Omusha* had been considered the more important of the two ceremonies, the *Uetotsukobaku* came to be called "Omusha." This latter type is the *Omusha* referred to in the *Igen Zokuwa* written in 1790 and, during the same year an *Omusha* was held twice in Sōya. The first, held "on June 10 at the Sōya council house, gathered because the sea cucumber season was at an end and the Ezo wanted to return home together with the Ezo from Enōbetsu and other low country people" while the second one was, "in the latter part of July to mark the end of the year's trading."

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Thus *Omusha*, originally a ceremony of greeting after a long absence, became an event celebrating the close of the trading or fishing season and this change came about parallel to the growth of more complex relations between the Ezo and the Japanese. Since it was the only occasion in which Japanese and Ezo assembled peacefully, it came to be used as a method of control over the natives when such necessity arose. These ceremonies, except at *Basho* owned directly by the daimyō and where supervisors were sent, were managed by the superintendants or interpreters of the respective *Basho*. According to *Hokui Dan* [On the Northern barbarians], "When there was a change in the Matsumae family *Omusha* was held at each *Basho* post by the managers and interpreters who clothed themselves in official garb while the *Otona* and *Miyagedori* [gift bearers] also dressed in their best, came together to receive instructions and regulations."

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These regulations were originally no more than an arrangement to guide the conduct of the Mainland Japanese by the managers of trade but as Japanese power grew the managers and officials of the daimyō began to make regulations for the Ezo as well. "Aboard the vessel to Ezo the lord sent a *Uwanori* and an interpreter. At the post a high platform would be built and from this the regulations would be read while the Ezo gathered around and listened with respect."<sup>45</sup> The *Uwanoriyaku* was an official who supervised the trade. The trade itself had once been carried on by the Matsumae and the *Basho* developed by them.<sup>46</sup> As time passed and the *Basho* fell into the hands of merchants the areas of trade retained directly by the daimyō were limited to new fishing grounds and to what was called "light goods," i.e. eagle feathers, furs and skins, bear livers, and Santan goods. Since the merchants were forbidden to handle these goods one or two *Uwanoriyaku* were sent with the trading vessels to see that this

<sup>45</sup> Tōyōki.

<sup>46</sup> For example, the acquisition of sea cucumber grounds in Karafuto in 1751 was under Kato Kihei who was the *Uwanori* of Sōya, *Kita Ezochi Hattari no Nubigaki* (Original documents on Northern Ezo) and the Shiranuka *Basho* was opened by the clansman Tobiuchi Kameemon, *Ōkō Ezojin no Hanashi no Kikizutae Hikae* (Notes on stories told by the old Ezo).

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\*C48 villages left in Kikonai, Satsukari, Mobetsu, and Heki-  
 \*175 richi while on the west coast the Ezo of Kaminokuni  
 166 had already been extinguished and only in Tazawa and  
 Otohe were any natives to be found. And even this  
 small number was steadily diminishing as can be found  
 in *Ezo Dan Hikki*: "Probably because the Ezo preferred  
 not to live among the Japanese they gradually moved  
 inland and very few are seen these days." According to

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\*C48 a report made in 1788 the Ezo living in Matsumae  
 \*175 consisted of but twelve persons living in three houses  
 161 and three villages.<sup>30</sup> The reasons for this decline of  
 the Ainu lie not alone in the activities of the Japanese  
 but also have their cause in the spread of contagious  
 diseases such as smallpox and measles which got a  
 foothold by the first part of the seventeenth century.

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\*C48 The *Ezo Dan Hikki* makes note of this: "Ezo in Tazawa  
 \*175 and Otohe are almost gone, many having died of small-  
 161 pox and measles." The decrease in population frus-  
 \*177 trated any Ainu attempt to organize self-government  
 and their years of contact with the Matsumae brought  
 them into a Japanese way of life. Since these Ainu in  
 the territory of the daimyō were not needful of special  
 treatment, they came to be treated as Japanese. The

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\*C48 *Ezo Dan Hikki* shows this contrast when, in regard to  
 \*175 the Ainu living in Ainu areas, it says: "In general there  
 651 is no annual land tax gathered from the Ezo lands.  
 Only when these Ezo come to Matsumae do they bring  
 with them local products," whereas, "The Ezo living  
 near Matsumae receive a portion of land from the  
 daimyō. But while they work some of the land they

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do not pay land taxes. Instead they offer to work—  
 fishing for herring or gathering tangle or collecting  
 firewood." This latter work was not a voluntary sub-  
 stitute for land tax but was imposed on all the residents  
 in Matsumae as is shown by the *Tsugaru Ittoshi*, "Pay-  
 ment to the daimyō and to the samurai of the Matsumae  
 were twenty-five to thirty horse loads of tangle and a  
 five x six foot stack of firewood annually for farmers  
 while the fisherman of herring had to remit seven  
 bundles each." These payments applied to those who  
 had submitted to Matsumae rule. The Ezo living in  
 Kunashiri, Etorofu, Akkeshi, Kiritappu, Karafuto, and  
 on the Okhotsk coast were out of the reach of Matsumae  
 control and had just begun to trade and although in-  
 volved in disputes with each other were independent.  
 The Matsumae made no effort to enter into political  
 relationship with these Ezo and were satisfied to have  
 the trading contracts only. But after the rebellion of  
 1789 these areas slowly came under Japanese control  
 and by policy of the Bakufu came directly under Jap-  
 anese jurisdiction in 1799.

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When all the above facts are considered it seems that  
 the Matsumae after 1669 had three methods of native  
 control.

<sup>30</sup> Temmei Hachinen junkenshi ôto hikae (Memorandum on  
 answers to investigating officials in 1788) in *Matsumae Tôzai*  
*Kanki* (Census of the Matsumae domain)

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1. The Ainu in Matsumae or in its vicinity were treated as Japanese but the number of these Ainu was very small especially when measured against the total native population of Ezo.

2. The Ezo who submitted after 1669, that is all the Ezo of Hokkaidō except those in the remote east of the Akkeshi district, were permitted self-government but were obedient to the general regulations of the Matsumae. This constituted the majority of the Ezo.

3. The Ezo of Karafuto and Chishima where Matsumae influence was weak were independent and had only trade relations with the Japanese.

These three types indicate the historical development of political control. The areas under situation 1 had been, at the time the Matsumae became independent, ruled as though they were type 2, while those in situation 3 became type 2 areas after the Kunashiri and Menashi incidents of 1789. Type 2 was the most important from an economic standpoint and the most common. Under type 2 there was no interference with the ancient customs of the Ezo; on the contrary there was an attempt to retain them as much as possible. In the *Basho* the old traditions of the Ezo were carefully observed. We have a record of a boundary dispute in 1767 between the Atsuta *Basho* controlled by the clansman Takahashi Asaemon and the Mashige *Basho* run by Shimonokuni Tadami. (The record on this was written by Kakizaki.)

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In reference to the problem of trespass in Mashige and Atsuta, a complaint was filed last year without any results obtaining. The other day Shimonokuni was summoned and told that *problems in Ezo should be settled according to the custom of the Ezo* and that boundary posts should be taken away with the assurance that no one shall be trespassing. As a result the advice was accepted and the complaint made by Asaemon was cancelled.<sup>51</sup>

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Disputes over boundaries were settled by Ezo custom. The punishment of individuals was left in Ezo hands. In the *Ezo Fudoki* written by Sekitomo Shikei, he says: "Even when a quarrel resulted in the death of one, the judgment was left in the hands of the village chief. Unless the crime was a most serious offense the Matsumae officials did not interfere." In the SGM we find that, "When an Ezo broke the law 10, 15, or even 100 *Emushi* (a kind of Ezo sword) had to be paid by him, in accord with the degree of his crime, as *Tsugunai*. In other cases he was imprisoned for several days. In any case their life was spared." *Tsugunai* was the same as *Ashinpe* and one of the commonest of Ezo punishments from early times. The reason for the sparing of life lay in the absence of the death penalty in the Ezo code.<sup>52</sup> Those who oppose the policy taken by the Matsumae point out that they preferred not to assimilate the Ainu with the Japanese; that they forbade the Ezo to use the Japanese language; that they discouraged the Ezo from learning how to write; that they forbade the

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<sup>51</sup> Italics are mine.

<sup>52</sup> See p. 21.

Fendal Japan AB2

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Ezo to farm; that they barred the Ezo from using straw sandals and straw hats and that if any Ezo did any of the above he would be accused by an interpreter and punished for the same. However, the above cited were not the generally accepted regulations of the Matsumae. While the *Ezo Sōshi* tells us that, "By law it was forbidden to send seed to the Ezo," there do exist records showing that the Ezo living from Tokachi on the east coast to Ishikari on the west coast had a knowledge of primitive agriculture and that the Matsumae clan itself, perhaps in preparation for famine, a not uncommon event in those days, ordered in May of 1716 that cereals be grown in Ezo. In reference to the ban on the use of the Japanese language both written and spoken we refer again to *Ezo Sōshi*: "From early times it was forbidden to teach the Ezo how to read or write or speak Japanese. Since I broke this rule it was but natural that I was frowned upon by the Matsumae." However, Mogami Tokunai exaggerates this point because there was no such rule set by the Matsumae. During the latter part of this period and according to records made by travelers, there were many Ezo in the vicinity of Matsumae who understood Japanese and even some who could read and write it.

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The prohibition against straw hats and sandals has to be considered in the light of changing Ezo customs. There is no evidence that there existed any "Family law of the Matsumae" on this matter.<sup>33</sup> The Ezo themselves preferred not to change their habits and traditions. Their reluctance to do so is shown by their bitter opposition in later years when the Bakufu in an attempt to assimilate them in the shortest possible time attempted to Japanize by fiat. The Ezo had their own set of rules on clothing as set down in the *Hokusui Taimon*, "They had rules not to wear anything on their feet, not to bathe or to bind their knees."

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I am therefore not of the opinion that in those days the Matsumae had a calculated policy of suppression although as Japanese power grew their attitude toward the Ezo did become oppressive. I hold that the method of government in those days was to allow self-government by the Ezo in accordance with native custom. This was most probably because Hokkaidō was still in large measure a commercial colony and there was no need to organize the natives and thereby take the risk of losing markets for the sake of political control. It was more profitable to leave the natives in a state of nature so that merchants fully exploited this situation. Many of the oppressive acts recorded as being rules of the Matsumae were, in actuality, regulations set up by merchant contractors for their own benefit. The fault of the Matsumae was that they winked at these actions.

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### 3. THE ABUSES OF THE BASHO CONTRACTING SYSTEM AND THE "INCIDENT" OF 1789

The *Basho* system had characteristics similar to those chartered colonial companies which played such an im-

<sup>33</sup> *Hokuto Sanjin Monogatari*.

Fudal Japan AB2

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30, 1789, written by Shimonokuni no Toneri and Ujieshimber and addressed to the clan's expeditionary force in Ezo it says: "

Notice has been given that the Ezo, regardless of where they may live, are to pay annual visits to the lord. This information is to be given to the contractors. After informing the contractors, instruct the chiefs and all Ezo to observe their annual visits to the lord. Furthermore, add that no special preparations for gifts are to be made.

Thus the expeditionary troops tried to make the natives visit the Lord Matsumae but aside from those Ezo who rendered service in suppressing the 1789 incident there is no record left showing that any Ezo did come to Matsumae.

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On the other hand there is evidence that the village government system improved. In *Higashi Ezo Dôchû Ki* [Journal of a Voyage in Eastern Ezo] are listed the names of Ezo for positions as *Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Kosukai* in each village. These were called the *Sanyaku* or "three posts" with the *Otona* as village head, the *Waki Otona* as his assistant and the *Kosukai* as the one who physically carried out the orders of the *Otona*. A village was governed by these three although there were many small villages without a *Waki Otona*. It would seem then that in the years after the 1789 incident the Matsumae clan realized the importance of governing the Ezo and made some improvements in the government of that island. This was done, needless to say, to satisfy the Bakufu and therefore the improvements were only in form and not in reality. Furthermore, in the years that followed, a number of significant events took place as follows:

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1. In 1791 and 1792 the relief trade was conducted by officials of the Bakufu in Akkeshi, Kiritappu and Sôya.

2. In 1792 and 1793 the Russian envoy Laxman arrived.

3. In 1796 and 1797 foreign vessels came to port at Etomo Misaki. And in 1798, amidst a confused national situation, the Bakufu issued an order bringing East Ezo under its direct control which ended the Matsumae regime. Thus the Bakufu took over where the Matsumae left off and established a firm system of management in Ezo.

5. SUMMARY

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The island of Ezo provided for the Yamato race an arena for their colonial activities in the modern period. First as a commercial colony, when the settlers, in order to obtain the rare products of the northern seas, came into trade contact with the natives, gradually expanded their trade, and with this expansion increased their footholds on the island. Actually the Matsumae area itself developed as a base of operations and the growth in power of that clan was due to the fact that it occupied that area which served as a funnel for commerce and it

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## Feudal Japan AB2

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was able to gain profit from that commerce. The Matsumae situation is similar to that of the Andō who occupied the important port of Jusanminato.\*

Originally the trade was one of barter in the form of giving and receiving gifts. There was, at first, no interference with the Ezo. The relation between native and Japanese was equal. Those from Japan were restricted to certain areas, free passage into Ezo territory was not granted and in business transactions only the Japanese were bound by regulations. However, as the power of the Japanese grew, they not only used fraud and trickery to gain their profits but, in order to increase these profits, they resorted to the use of economic pressure or even sheer power. The Ezo were forbidden to trade with other than designated merchants. They were forbidden to remove from a limited area. They were deprived of their agriculture for the benefit of the Japanese and were even forbidden to use the Japanese language.

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The standard of Ezo industrial techniques was low and with the gradual decrease of natural resources and despite the constant opening of new areas the limit of productivity was reached by the end of this period. Improvement in techniques became a necessity. Specialists from the mainland were sent for but since there was a limit to both quality and quantity this move failed and the only industries left were lumbering, hawk-hunting, and alluvial gold mining. The turn in affairs came with the importation of capital which brought into play new methods of production and organization. The consequent demand for labor could not be satisfied by immigration and was therefore supplied by the Ezo who had become the economic defeated and who now, either voluntarily or by force, were brought into this new economic system as laborers and dependents. Although the new techniques were a considerable improvement, they required no high degree of ability, and it was therefore very profitable to use the Ezo as cheap labor. Thus, the profit of the mainlanders, formerly derived from trade transactions, was now obtained by the use of productive labor. Ezo-land thus gradually became transformed from a commercial colony to an exploited colony where, through the forces of capital, management, and native labor, products for export were made.

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This new system was introduced by mainland merchants who assumed the place of the Matsumae as buffer between the Japanese and the Ezo and this transfer of function is important. The change from commercial to exploited colony was also significant in the government of the Ezo. In those days when only peaceful relations were needed there was no need to interfere in Ezo affairs and "all matters in Ezo were settled according

\* From the eleventh to the fifteenth centuries the Andō clan had dominated the northern end of Honshu and the Shimonokuni group of that clan had centered its power at the port of Jusanminato at the mouth of the Iwaki River.

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From the standpoint of an attitude toward the natives, the Matsumae clan took a non-interference policy and was not aggressive while the contract merchants, who were the actual possessors of power, driven by the desire for profit and oblivious to the interest, happiness, or humanity of the Ezo, restricted freedom and established a despotism equivalent to a slave system. And the passivity of the Matsumae was an acknowledgment of this merchant power and attitude. Unlike the colonial history of the West in its early period no such cruel method as extermination was undertaken. The reason for this as explained in Chapter II of Part two may be our national character, the benevolence of Buddhism, and the principles of royal rule derived from China, but fundamentally it was because the Ezo, being a peaceful people, did no harm to the Japanese and were, in fact, vitally necessary to the mainlanders.

HISTORICAL RUSSIA RA2  
FEDERAL JAPAN ABQ

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the Russians in Etorofu and in 1771 cleaned the Russians out of the Kuriles for a time.<sup>13</sup> With that incident the Russians changed their attitude and, when they made their next voyage in 1773, they gave presents to the natives, demonstrated their generosity, and began a trade between the Russians and the Kurilese during the course of which the Russians converted the natives, changed their customs, altered their names, taught them Russian, sent them missionaries, etc. Some Russians began the practice of staying over for a year on Etorofu and in 1785 a permanent Russian colony was established there. As their colonial activities in the northern seas advanced, the Russians began to feel the need of securing raw materials and supplies from their neighbors and of finding a local market for their products. In 1779 some Russians requested trade at Akkeshi. In 1785 Gregori Shelekov organized a colonial company which, in 1794, sent Cyril Laxman to Japan officially to request trade and which, in 1794, founded a colony on Uruppu Island which was the economic center for the natives of Etorofu.

The extent of Japanese influence to the east and north of Ezo has already been described. The center of trade with the Kuril Ainu was gradually moving east from Akkeshi. In 1701 Kiritappu *Basho* was separated from Akkeshi and in 1754 Kunashiri *Basho* was opened for trade with the Ezo. The protection of our rights and interests in these areas has now to be considered.

## 2. THE DEVELOPMENT OF JAPANESE NATIONAL INTERESTS IN THE EZO AREA

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Japan could not ignore the fact that Hokkaidō was entering the colonial arena of the world. Naturally the appearance of a competitor for Ezo attracted the attention of the central government and led to its direct control over Ezo. But that was not the sole factor, for the central government had already had its interest turned to Ezo and the possibility of colonial competition merely spurred its activities. Ever since Minamoto Yoritomo conquered the Ōu area, the Ezo of that region had been completely Japanized and, after the rebellion of Andō Futoshi, administrator of Ezo in the late Kamakura period, [1185-1333] native power had been removed to the northern side of Tsugaru Strait and for centuries they were forgotten by the mainland people who thought of Ezo only as haunted by demons.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Kindai Nihon Gaikoku . . . 87.

<sup>14</sup> As an example there is a scene in a play in which Ezo Island appears. It is in the Jōruri drama *Kenjō no Tenorai* written by Chikamatsu Monzaemon in 1685 and may be found in the First Book of Chikamatsu's Popular Writings included in vol. 4 of the Section on Edo literature in *Nihon Meicho Zenshu* (Library of Famous Japanese Literature). This play describes the island as follows:

"This so-called Ezo Island is located more than one thousand ri away. Whoever is born on this island possesses an immense natural power. The hair grows upward and the light of the eyes is like the golden morning sun. Their angry shouting

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to the records of the Bakufu investigations in 1791 and 1792 the situation was even worse than before the revolt and in fact the bad administration of the Matsumae never improved.<sup>24</sup>

It was clear then that the problem of Ezo could not be left to a small clan. On the basis of the investigations of 1791 and 1792 the Prime Minister Matsudaira Sadanobu was preparing to open Ezo when, in 1792, the Russian envoy Laxman came to Japan and the Bakufu, busy with coastal defense, put off the plan. Then later, on the basis of a secret report from the Mito clan made by Ohara Sakingo who, during a visit to the Matsumae clan in 1795-1796, got the idea that the clan might secretly contact the Russians,<sup>25</sup> the Bakufu sent three groups of officials to report on Ezo in 1798. Based on these reports, the Bakufu made up its mind. The first step was to put East Ezo from Urakawa to Cape Shiretoko with the adjacent islands under direct control. This was ordered to be done for a period of seven years in 1799. Later the region from the east of the Shiriuchi River to Urakawa was added and in July, 1803, East Ezo came under the permanent direct control of the Bakufu. In 1807 all of Ezo was placed under the direct control of the Bakufu. It is clear then that the cause which precipitated direct central government control over Ezo was a desire to prevent Russian penetration and to add the resources of Ezo to the Japanese economy.

## II. THE GROWTH OF A GOVERNMENT POLICY IN EZO

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### I THE IMPORTANCE OF A NATIVE POLICY

As has been made clear in the preceding part the motive for direct central government control over Ezo was the prevention of Russian aggression. It was therefore quite natural that the government concentrated on defense activities and ordered the Nambu and Tsugaru clans to fortify their territory. To accomplish this aim the government provided transportation facilities, built roads, established inns, set up a postal service and provided for post houses, kept government vessels at sea on patrol, developed sea routes and, in order to make best use of these facilities in event of emergency, kept both land and sea routes under government control. However, since the island was vast and, of course, surrounded by water, it was difficult to fortify the area against foreign invasion with the handful of people sent there. In addition it was formidable from the standpoint of climate and provisions to station troops there. Therefore, the government announced that Ezo was a Japanese colony and in order to meet the expense of administration not only lifted the prohibitions against free entrance to Ezo but actively encouraged immigration and colonization. But a great many laborers were

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<sup>24</sup> Ibid., 370.

<sup>25</sup> Mori Seizō, *Kindai Bungeri Shi Kenkyū* (Studies in the literary history of recent times), section on Ohara Sakingo.

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needed and under a feudal system which depended on a labor economy the clans would not release people and, therefore, no great number of colonists could be expected. Even if a large number of immigrants had moved into Ezo it is doubtful that they would have succeeded when methods of sustaining life by agriculture and existing through the winters had not been worked out.

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This was obvious at the time and therefore the only solution seemed to be one which used the aborigines, estimated at that time as numbering about 40,000, who were used to the climate and familiar with the terrain. Because of this, native policy became an important issue. The importance of the Ezo, particularly as a labor pool, had early been recognized by those adherents of colonization who never failed to discuss the question of how to treat the natives. Yet these discussions were from a political standpoint not, as in later years, from an economic point of view. That is, the necessity of appeasement and how to win the devotion of the Ezo was debated but no one went further and planned for their utilization. Thus, Namikawa Temmin in his *Hekikyōroku* states that the development of Ezo would not only expand Japanese territory and add wealth to the nation but would also introduce culture to the Ezo who lived as animals and therefore benefit both parties. He goes on to say that, although some doubt existed as to whether these aliens could be converted in their customs and made into an asset to Japan, these doubts were unnecessary because the present Edo [Tōkyō] territory used to be called "Azuma Ebisu" \* but it came to prosper far more than the Kyōtō area after the Tokugawas came to power there. Sakakura Genjirō presents this case in more concrete form. He states that the reason there were no cereal products in Ezo was not because they could not be grown there but simply because they were not grown. Therefore, he adds, if those people in the Ōu area who were not well off emigrated and engaged in agriculture, Ezo could be developed and, "when the Ezo came to acquire the habit of living on cereals they would be assimilated into our race." He proved his ideas by referring to the history of the Ōu area and went into detail on his plans. He states that, if barriers were set up at Yamakoshinai and Shizukari to protect the Ezo from invasion and if government offices were established at Sōya and Kiritappu and the natives were granted that which they desired, then Japanese territory would expand even beyond the limits of Ezo. All these opinions were, as has been mentioned, made for the purpose of stimulating a moribund national economy which had reached a stalemate under feudalism. But since the Ezo engaged mostly in fishing, it would be necessary first of all to retrain and reeducate them and, since Ezo was a com-

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\* *Azuma Ebisu* was an epithet applied by people of the Kyōtō region to Northeasterners prior to the Tokugawa period. It has the sense of "rube" or "hayseed."

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products were brought to Japan, we should be twice as wealthy. The island is thus a great potential for Japanese wealth and should not be neglected. If left untouched it would fall into the hands of foreigners but if we take the right step the island would become a part of our country and increase our national power. Yet since we have ignored the island, officials from Muscovy who have come there during the period 1772-1780 have foreseen this situation. Intending to add the island to their domains by helping those Ezo in need, they came with tools and instruments, guided the people with kindness, have started a trade in the products of the island, and have inculcated humanity. Thus, the natives have come to respect them and some twenty islands in East Ezo south of Kamchatka have become subject to Muscovy.<sup>4</sup>

Here the author adds that a benevolent attitude has its economic advantages also. Two birds could thus be killed with one stone of benevolence for it would mean not only wealth but a stronger defense. In Toshiaki's opinion the policy he advanced was not a temporary measure but the base of a firm and aggressive colonization. He cautions that an assimilation policy ought to be carried out gradually and that "the customs of Japan be introduced slowly while the natives own traditions be kept."<sup>5</sup>

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Probably the one who, more than any so far mentioned, stated in detail the need for developing Ezo was Ohara Sakingo. He visited Matsumae in 1795 and wrote his *Hokuchi Gudan* [Account of the follies in the North] as a dissent against the Russian policy of the Matsumae. He was an important factor in the Bakufu's decision to take over the North and his later *Hokuchi Kigen* [Plain speaking about the Northern Area] treats of the defense of the North. In the second volume of this work he advocates an appeasement policy and adds that it is not only desirable to treat the Ezo so that they will not adhere to the enemy but that they ought to be taught to take part in our national defense.

He explains his plans in detail. First he makes the point that Ezo is vast and difficult to defend and that Matsumae is a poor territory unsuited for agriculture. Should the Russians invade we would lose our northern frontier in no time. In case of war between Japan and Russia, Japan would have three disadvantages:

1. Ezo is so big that we would need a tremendous number of people for the navy alone and the climate is so cold that we would be limited in drafting men used to such temperatures. The drafts would have to come from the Nambu and Tsugaru areas but the latter has a small population and the former, being near the Northern frontier, would be busy defending its own lands and could not spare any men for an emergency. So we have a problem of personnel.

2. Even if the military personnel problem were solved, there remains the problem of transporting cereals to Ezo where they are not grown.

<sup>4</sup> Seiki Monogatari (Narrative of the western territory), *Nihon Keizai Soshō* 2: 171.

<sup>5</sup> Tokugawa Bakufu no Keizaigakusha Honda Toshiaki, 68.



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3. Even if the Ezo were on our side, there could be little cooperation since they understand neither our language nor our customs.

He then lists three advantages for Russia:

1. Russia has a cold climate. Their people are used to fighting in the cold and it would be easy for them to come to a place with a warmer climate.

2. The main Russian food is meat. They would have no trouble with a food supply for the Ezo also feed on meat.

3. Since the Ezo are uncivilized and easily impressed by size, they would surrender in no time were the Russians to bring their battleships along.

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He felt that Japan ought to consider itself fortunate that the Russians had not as yet launched an invasion and "should take advantage of this opportunity to cultivate the island, prepare it for defense, educate the Ezo, and make them citizens of our country so that the Russians will not dare to attack." He continues that the Russians are slowly but surely advancing southward and if their movements are not checked the Ezo will come under their sway even if the Russians had in the past had no such intentions. For the fact is that the Russians intend to educate the natives and win them over to their side. If there were no Russian threat it would be all right to continue our easy-going policy in Ezo. But with the situation one of serious concern to the safety of our country we should lose no time in educating these people and bringing them over to our side. At the same time we must teach them that the Russians are to be despised and that their rules and regulations are evil. He states: "while we educate the Ezo we ought to be prepared to defend the island if necessary." He then lists three advantages in educating the Ezo:

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1. The Japanese have had contact with the Ezo for a long time and the two people are familiar to each other.

2. The Ezo have a great love for rice, sake, and tobacco. Since the Russians have little of these, if we refuse to give them to those Ezo who follow the Russians it will soon discourage Ezo-Russian relationships.

3. Since the ignorant Ezo have a great fear and respect for the sun and the moon they can be very easily handled by telling them of the glorious history of our country, emphasizing the role of the sun and moon goddesses and telling them that it is the desire of these deities that the Ezo become part of Japan. It would be an easy task, he believed, to bring the educated Ezo into subjection. He elaborates his ideas on education and he objects to establishing temples with special priests as their power may become great as in the case of the Ikkōshū<sup>b</sup> sect on the mainland and this would

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<sup>b</sup> The largest and most prosperous of the Buddhist sects possessing at one time thousands of temples and millions of adherents and having great temporal power.

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lence" and that "to educate the Ezo, to teach them humanity, and to help them cultivate the land were wishes of the Gods,"<sup>7</sup> or that to mistreat them was "against humanity" and that it was "most sorrowful" but these were all rationalizations of a policy based on necessity.

## 2. THE ATTITUDES OF THE GOVERNMENT TOWARD EZO

In January, 1799, the Bakufu, as an initial step in taking over control of Ezo, appointed a number of Commissioners who worked out fundamental principles to be used in governing East Ezo. These were submitted to the Bakufu and, after careful consideration, the Council of State accepted them in principle and on February 10, 1799, issued the following instructions to the Commissioners.

### INSTRUCTIONS TO OFFICIALS IN CHARGE OF THE MANAGEMENT OF EZO

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Ezo has been brought under the direct control of the central government because it is undeveloped and the people are living in a poor condition. Officials sent there shall endeavor to educate the people and gradually have them adopt Japanese customs. They will see that the Ezo submit to the Japanese Government and that they will not be lured by the blandishments of foreign countries. This must all be done gradually since it is impossible to give away unlimited quantities of goods or to force them to become loyal to our country. Therefore, for the time being the trade as it has been carried on for many years will be continued and indeed should be used to improve the native standard of living. Since past experience indicates that if this is left entirely in the hands of the merchants it will result in unfair practices, officials will be placed at each trading post to regulate the trade. Although this trade is to be conducted for the benefit of the Ezo, no undue favor will be given them. The old form of trade will be kept but with honest weights and measures, sound goods, and fair transactions so that the Ezo will be encouraged to work hard. If such a condition comes about they will, no doubt, increase their production of goods for exchange but it is not the purpose of the government to gain profit from the trade but rather to benefit the Ezo. The officers conducting the trade should bear this in mind:

1. Teach the Ezo, in due time, how to raise crops and live on cereals and to become used to our way of life. Even before you teach them to cultivate the land try to change their diet from meat to grain by telling them that cereals are much better than meat. Then when the time comes to teach them how to raise crops their progress will be much faster.

2. Make the Ezo feel that this change in policy is a generous gesture of the government. It is important not only to tell them this but to be honest with them. It has been said that they are ignorant but innocent and if they receive the impression that we are not honest it will be a great obstacle in winning their loyalty.

3. When the Ezo are employed as laborers they should be given rice in strict accordance with the attached list and there should be no room for them to suspect that there

<sup>7</sup> Namikawa Temmin, *Hokkyōroku*.

<sup>8</sup> Hayashi Shihei, *Sangoku Tsūran Zusetsu*.

<sup>9</sup> Ezo Sōshi.

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is unfair play. For those who work particularly hard something besides rice, such as trade goods, sake, or tobacco, depending on the circumstances, could be given. On the other hand do not let them waste time and show them that their compensation differs according to the amount of work done so that they will try to do better and more work.

4. The Ezo have been forbidden to use Japanese but, in areas where the Bakufu has taken over, the use of that language shall be permitted and in fact encouraged so that the natives will more easily adopt our ways of life. Keep in mind however that they are to use our language and we are not to use theirs.

5. When the Ezo have become accustomed to our ways and traditions and there are those who wish to follow our customs then permit such to cut their hair and provide them with Japanese clothes. If it be a hardworking man who is constantly encouraging his fellowmen to work, then build him a Japanese-style house so that the others may look and envy and thus be influenced into adopting our ways. But remember that none of this must be forced on them for they are to take the initiative. This is particularly true in regard to the customs of women.

6. Teach them, gradually, to be respectful to their governors, dutiful to their parents, friendly to their brothers and relatives, and faithful to their friends. Teach them the Japanese syllabary and numbers with the idea of eventually civilizing them.

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7. It is said that their custom is for the rich to have many wives and the poor to have none. The result is a low birth rate with not enough people in some areas. Although a system of monogamy would be desirable a sudden change to one by decree would cause trouble. Therefore, gradually educate them in ethics and morality so that they understand that no man or woman is to be without a spouse in order that the population may increase. This cannot be done overnight but it must be borne in mind.

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8. Furnish bedding wherever needed in case of illness and also medicines. Take all necessary measures to keep the death rate down.

In matters not listed above officers appointed to the *Basho* should use their best judgment, bearing always in mind the principles of developing the island and educating the people. Any *Basho* where the Ezo have become well educated and loyal merits well to the official in charge. Therefore, diligence and cooperation are expected.

The above document contains the general principles of native policy and is more or less a copy of the draft submitted by the Commissioners. And these principles were explained to the natives by those officials sent to Ezo.

Now while this document makes clear the intent of the Bakufu, I would like to go further and see how these principles were actually carried out and what results were obtained. Before getting into that, however, let us describe briefly the organization of government in Ezo.

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### 3. GOVERNMENT ORGANIZATION IN EZO

The assumption of direct control over East Ezo in 1799 was the beginning of a seven-year program on an experimental basis under five Commissioners. Since the results were satisfactory, it was decided, in 1802, to place East Ezo permanently under Bakufu control. Then the temporary office of Commissioner was abol-

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ished and two judges were appointed in their place and in May of 1802 the Hakodate Magistracy was set up. In March of 1808 the Matsumae clan was relieved of all its territories in Ezo which were then brought under the Bakufu and, after moving the office of the Magistrate to Fukuyama, that office was renamed the Matsumae Magistracy. Four officials were in the office at Fukuyama while at Hakodate an Office for Investigation and Management was established. This system continued until 1821 when the Matsumae clan was restored to its former rule. Although changes in the names of officials and the scope of their jurisdiction had occurred, both the Commission and Magistracy were under the Council of State and thus they had jurisdiction over all affairs within their territories. Under the system of Commissioners there were such officials as Supervisors in charge of Ezo, Chief Treasurer, Treasurer, Auditor, Branch Treasurer, Traveling Inspector, Chief Constructor, Constructor and Field Inspectors, while under the Magistracy were the Branch Managers, Branch Investigators, and the Police Officers. The Magistrate and the Inspector sat alternately in Edo and Hakodate (or Fukuyama). Disregarding the post of Commissioner, since it was only a temporary office, we find that the offices and duties under the Magistracy are similar to the administrative pattern followed in such remote areas as Nagasaki and Sado. So the Bakufu did not set up any special administrative system in the Ezo colony.

Administration rested with the Commissioner or Magistrate and at important points offices were established where one or two officials called Resident Officers were stationed. To these posts were appointed constables or policemen. A Resident Officer was in charge of several *Basho* and his subordinates supervised the managers and interpreters employed in these *Basho* who engaged in trade with the Ezo, and they propitiated and educated the natives.

From time to time the Magistrate himself or an inspector went on tour. Although the order of 1799 laid down the general principles of a native policy, details had been left up to officials on the spot. Therefore, the executive officer of administration was the Resident along with the interpreters and guards, the latter two having been the executives prior to the new system. As this governmental system became established and stabilized, so did the society of the Ezo. We have already mentioned that in the earlier period there was some regulation of Ezo organization owing to mainland influence, and it is seen in the appointment of chiefs and influential people as *Otona* and *Kazukai*. Now the Bakufu in order to enforce its regulations thought it necessary to change this Ezo organization.

For example, on Etorofu, which island the Bakufu viewed with concern, a system similar to that of the Japanese village was set up. The common Ezo who had been called *Utare* were renamed *Murakata* [villagers] while the name *Otona* was changed to *Nanushi* [village headman].

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 \*C48 [village headman]. But in most places the Ezo system  
 621 was left unchanged. The exception was in areas where  
 979 the authority of local officials had become so definite  
 \*175 that it was necessary to establish new positions to  
 govern effectively the Ezo of the area. Therefore, the  
 titles of *Sō Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Sō Kosukai* were  
 created in addition to the existing *Otona* and *Kosukai*  
 and these posts were given to Ezo of noble birth. The  
*Sō Otona* was the leader of the Ezo within a *Basho*.  
 To this post a person from the most powerful family  
 was appointed. The orders of the government were  
 delivered to the *Sō Otona* for the Ezo. The Ezo ap-  
 pealed to the *Sō Otona* those matters which could not  
 be settled by an *Otona* and only such matters as could  
 not be settled by the *Sō Otona* were brought before the  
 [124] officials.\* The *Sō Kosukai* had duties similar to those  
 of the *Kosukai* of a village except that he was the  
*Kosukai* of a *Basho*. While a man's family background  
 was considered in making appointments to this post  
 because of the nature of his duties, it was given to a  
 person with the ability to control his fellows. Another  
 position established was that of *Miyagedori* [gift bearer]  
 who was an ordinary native either physically strong or  
 with a good conduct record. He acted as *Kosukai* for  
 contractors or as guide for officials and travelers and  
 he inspected the exchange of gifts.<sup>9</sup> According to the  
 Ezo *Miyage* this was a post next in rank to *Otona* and  
*Kosukai* and although the *Miyagedori* received equal  
 treatment and gifts at an *Omusha* it seems that he had  
 no duties similar to those of *Otona* or *Kosukai*. It is  
 probable that this post was awarded to ordinary Ezo  
 or to those who had retired from the position of *Otona*  
 or *Kosukai* and those who held it received privileges  
 equal to those of the other ranks.

## 4. APPENDIX

## INSTRUCTIONS TO THE EZO, JUNE 16, 1799

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 \*C48 At this meeting a package of tobacco and some sake shall  
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 [213] following instructions.  
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1. The *Basho* concerned has been taken over by the Bakufu since May 5. Instructions given from that time by the officer placed in charge must be obeyed without delay.

2. It goes without saying that during the period of Bakufu management full respect is due all government officials whether stationed in Ezo or on tour.

The Ezo will obey the orders of managers, guards, and interpreters as they did during the reign of the Matsumae.

No petition shall be presented directly to government officials. It will not be accepted. Instructions from managers, interpreters, and guards are to be treated as instructions from officials. However, if there is any doubt concerning such orders, it may be brought to the attention of officials who, according to the issue, may take necessary steps.

It should be noted that it is very inconvenient not to understand Japanese since the interpreters may make mis-

<sup>9</sup> Tarao Tadarō, *Chishima Tōken Jikki* (Kurile Islands expedition reports), 73.

<sup>10</sup> *Tsushikori Saushi* (History of Tsugaru village), 17-18.

\*698 takes and there are many possibilities for misunderstanding  
 \*175 when interpreters have to be constantly used. Therefore,  
 it is urged that the Ezo learn Japanese. In that way both  
 parties will be able to understand what the other party is  
 saying.

3. The reasons why the Bakufu has taken control are  
 that the Ezo have a poor standard of living and know  
 little of industry, so that if the fishing is bad they suffer  
 extreme hardship. The Bakufu has great sympathy for  
 this condition and desires to show the natives new methods  
 of work, introduce the customs of Japan, and gradually  
 try to change the customs and manners of the Ezo. Since  
 the prohibition on the use of Japanese has been abolished,  
 all persons including *Otomo* and all males should be en-  
 couraged to learn and make use of this language. Officials  
 may at times give instructions without the aid of inter-  
 preters and the Ezo should be able to respond in Japanese.  
 This is for their own good since it will eliminate the need  
 for interpreters. Furthermore, there are many cases of  
 foreign vessels drifting ashore and at these times the Ezo  
 may be called upon to render help and it would be a great  
 handicap if each Ezo had to be individually told what to  
 do through interpreters. In addition there is only one  
 interpreter and not more than four or five persons among  
 the managers and guards who understand the Ezo language  
 for each 800 Ezo.

And again, while this area is under the Bakufu there  
 will be many officials going and coming and it will be most  
 inconvenient to assign each one an interpreter. So the  
 best thing to do is to have the Ezo learn Japanese. How-  
 ever, learning Japanese does not mean that each one must  
 instantly adopt Japanese clothes or cut his hair and beard  
 as we do. The Ezo are perfectly free to dress as they  
 have always done. It is up to the Ezo themselves whether  
 they wish to copy the customs of the Japanese. If there  
 is such a one and he has learned the Japanese language he  
 shall be granted permission to become a Japanese.

4. Children, both boys and girls, who have not yet been  
 tattooed or made to wear earrings, are to refrain from  
 such practices during Bakufu administration. There is no  
 law against these practices, however; the Bakufu is just  
 against the idea of inflicting injury on the body of any  
 person. The reason is that those convicted of crime are  
 tattooed according to the seriousness of their act. The  
 second time they are convicted they are punished and the  
 third time they are beheaded. Therefore, injuring the  
 bodies of the innocent is not favored. As for the ban on  
 earrings—the Japanese believe that people with large ear  
 lobes without any marks or scars on them are happy and  
 prosperous. We would like to see both of these practices  
 stopped. If there are people who want to carry on their  
 traditions let them be advised to wait until the *Basho* is  
 handed back to the Matsumae. If those boys and girls  
 who are to receive earrings and tattoos are restricted to  
 those under two or three years of age, they would still be  
 young enough even if they had to wait seven or eight  
 years. Perhaps it will only be four or five years until the  
*Basho* is handed back to the Matsumae.

It is said that the Ezo have a custom called *Tsuchiuchi*  
 in which people are sometimes beaten to death. But the  
 death penalty may be carried out only after legal action  
 has been taken by the authorities. Any person beating  
 another to death by *Tsuchiuchi* shall not only be accused  
 and tried by Japanese authority, but no matter what his  
 excuses he will be punished and even may be put to death.  
*Tsuchiuchi* is strictly forbidden under Bakufu administra-  
 tion. On the other hand, it is said that this *Tsuchiuchi*  
 has been used as atonement in disputes by those who have  
 no property to offer. Atonement and *Tsuchiuchi* have  
 been the unwritten law. Therefore, if *Tsuchiuchi* is pro-

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hibited there may be those who will have nothing to offer in atonement and therefore will escape punishment. Since there are bound to be disputes which will not be settled unless *Tsuchiuchi*, atonement, or some form of penalty is assessed, it is advised that such disputes be brought before a magistrate and the more serious ones be transferred to Edo for severe reprimand. During the winter when no officials are stationed in the countryside the *Otona*, *Waki Otona*, and *Kozukai* shall accept complaints and report on them as soon as possible when officials arrive in the spring at which time the complaints will be reviewed and proper action taken. Naturally, certain cases will arise from misunderstandings on the part of both parties and it should be noted that, once a case has been brought up publicly and the disputants summoned to official quarters, it will not be possible to settle it secretly.

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There has also been a custom of challenging a person to argue over unreasonable matters and having the loser pay atonement. From now on anyone forced into such an argument will report to the officials and receive instructions and the same goes for situations wherein anyone is challenged by an Ezo from outside the *Basho*.

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5. There will arise the problem of how to deal with wrongdoers if the custom of *Tsugunai* is forbidden. The following should clear up any doubts on the matter. There is no written law here and all criminal matters are settled according to tradition. The Bakufu wants to educate these people and apply the Japanese pattern of life to this island. In Japan there are laws set up by authority. Murder is punished by death, adultery is punished by death, and theft is punished according to its seriousness—from beating and tattooing for a slight offense to weightier penalties for more serious offenses. There are other laws such as those which reward people, dutiful and obedient to parents, those friendly to relatives, those who are generous, benevolent, and hardworking. There are many other laws which it is impossible to illustrate and which will gradually be introduced on the island. In short, the reason for Bakufu administration is to establish various rules and laws in the hope that this island will be rid of its traditions and come to live like Japan. The *Otona* and *Kozukai* will be village officials as they are called in Japan and they will make every effort to govern their village successfully. They will encourage the people to work hard so that they will not encounter famine and the laborers must be accustomed to the ways of the mainland. This is to result in a great development of the island with the people peaceful and happy under the Bakufu. As the production of the island increases, it is beyond the capacity of the Matsumae to handle the situation which is the reason central government officials have been sent to supervise. This territory will be handed back to the Matsumae when, in later years, laws have been set up and the traditions and customs have been altered to match those of Japan.

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6. Though it has been said that this land belongs to the Matsumae it must be remembered that all land in Japan belongs to the Bakufu including the Matsumae territory itself. The fact is that this island was so far away from Edo that it was merely given in trust to the Matsumae. Now recognizing the lack of government, the Bakufu is administering directly, developing this country and instituting laws and rules similar to those of Japan. It will teach agriculture to the people, encourage them to be diligent so they may be self-sufficient, reward people according to their work, and introduce the Japanese language and Japanese-style houses, and educate the people. Therefore, even after this land is given back to the trust of the Matsumae those rules and laws established by the government must be observed and not even the Matsumae may change the standards set up.



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7. It is desired to introduce Japanese-style houses and to this end the Ezo are encouraged to work hard. Clothing should also be earned and saved. And since there will be no custom of atonement in the future, it is not necessary to hide such treasured goods as cups in the mountains. These things should be kept in the house. It is suggested that in the future the Ezo move into Japanese villages in groups. We need people to till this broad land. The use of a sickle is a tedious and fruitless business whereas if the grass were simply burned in autumn not only would a lot of labor be saved but the ashes will serve as fertilizer to yield a better crop. Now at present, the Ezo live separately and isolated from each other and this makes it difficult to organize them and help them. Furthermore, the custom of hiding treasures in the countryside makes it impossible to burn off the grass. It is not necessary to move the Ezo at once but do it gradually. When it is done the labor situation will be greatly improved.

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8. There are bound to be some lazy and idle ones among the Ezo who will not work as well as cripples who must be given special work. These people will be given empty rice sacks by the posts and they will be taught to make straw sandals. Since the post will buy all their work, it should be of some help to them, enabling them to buy sake or whatever they wish with the money earned. These rice sacks will be given to anyone on request. The *Otona* should make this clear to all so that even fishermen during the periods of stormy weather or the winter months when they have extra time can make use of this time by weaving straw ropes and nets.

The above instructions are hereby given for the fifth time through the interpreters to the *Otona* and *Kozukai*.  
August 1799 Ohashi Zenshirō

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This instruction is just one example taken from the *Tokachi Basho*. Its content simply ignores the sentiments of the natives and its reasoning in many instances is self-complacent. It is doubtful whether the intent of the officials was understood by the Ezo. However, we can see what policy was adopted and also that the officials were earnest and serious in their attitude.

### III. THE COLONIAL POLICY OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

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The Bakufu took extreme care in executing its policy. For example, when the decision was made to assume power, orders were issued to the Matsumae stating that those managers, guards, and interpreters who wished to do so could retain their positions, that the Matsumae had to settle all accounts with the Ezo, even if such settlement involved prolonged negotiation, in order that the Bakufu inherit no disputes and that a statement be issued forbidding mistreatment of the Ezo.<sup>1</sup> The Bakufu particularly cautioned its own officials as to their attitudes and when the Commissioners were appointed they were under instruction to make native relations their prime consideration.<sup>2</sup> Furthermore, in

<sup>1</sup> Higashi Ezoichi goyōchi ainari sōrō ni tsuki kore made aitsutome sōrō tsushi bannin e moshiwatasu sho (Instructions to former interpreters and guards on the occasion of East Ezo becoming a Bakufu estate), Habuto Seiyō, *Kyume Kōhi* in *SHS* 5: 542-543.

<sup>2</sup> Ezoichi goyogakari no ōse watasarare sōrō kakitsuke (Written orders concerning the placement of Ezo under the Bakufu), *ibid.*, 323.

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metals such as gold, silver, and copper out of the country. Another reason, advanced by the Commissioners, was that, if the Ezo who lived around Kayabe, where contact with the *Wajin* (mainland Japanese were called *Wajin* as against *Esojin*) was frequent, were not permitted to use iron coins while the Japanese did, ill will might be created among the Ezo.<sup>11</sup>

Since most of the Ezo, except those living near Matsumae [called Kuchi Ezo] who came in frequent contact with the Japanese, were not familiar with the use of money,<sup>12</sup> they were not forced to use the coins and in Kunashiri Island coins were used only for the limited trade with Ezo women.<sup>13</sup> In Japan the value of coins constantly fluctuated but because of the fear that such changes would only arouse the suspicion of the Ezo, the value of iron trade coins was set and whatever loss was sustained from their use was made up out of the trade profits.<sup>14</sup> These iron coins eliminated barter, set standards for exchange, simplified business, prevented dishonesty, and excluded the use of rice as a standard.

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A. After the coins had been in use for a while it was possible for the Ezo to trade among themselves. Therefore, some of them went to remote areas where no trading had been done before, bought the products of such areas, and brought them to the *Kaihō*. In this way new markets were developed and the volume of goods in trade increased.

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B. The extravagance of the Ezo was checked after coins were introduced and they began to save so that, "They could buy just enough rice, tobacco, and sake, and with the rest buy old clothes thus keeping themselves and their families properly fed and clothed." And since women and children could now sell any amount of goods it encouraged them to produce.<sup>15</sup>

<sup>11</sup> Ezochi ni tessan tsūyō kenbaku no koto (A suggestion regarding the circulation, of iron coins in Ezo), in *Ezo Fuzoku Isan* 2 (3).

<sup>12</sup> This is not the first time currency was introduced into Ezo. Excavations at Haasabu village show that it had been brought in much earlier. See *Eso Ōrai*, No. 10: 173. However, at the earlier period coins were used as ornaments and not as money.

<sup>13</sup> "The use of coins is gradually becoming a practice with the result that the Ezo, in a number of places, are familiar with their use. Since the Ezo at Akkeshi, Kusuri, and Nemuro have become acquainted with coins and their uses, barter trade has again sprung up. On Kunashiri the use of coins was first taken up by Ezo women." *SHS* 5: 560.

<sup>14</sup> "In respect to the exchange rate of money in relation to rice and other cereals a separate rate should be set up which will be stable for the first year or two because of the remoteness of the area. The coins to be used shall be *chōhyaku* sen. [In those days, because of the constant debasement of the coinage, there were two methods of calculating money. In one, called *kyūroku*, 96 mon were considered equal to 100 mon. In the other, or *chōhyaku* count, 100 mon equaled 100 mon.] The number of Ezo engaged in fishing is to be increased and fish such as salmon and trout are to be bought at a lower price." *Ibid.*, 553.

<sup>15</sup> "Ezochi torihakarai ni tsuku Bakufu Kanjōsho zōnjiyorisho oyobi Hakodate Bugyō no tōsho" (Written opinion of the

enable the mainlanders to make a profit,<sup>21</sup> under the apprehension that the profit from the native trade constituted the financial resources of that island and that there was no reason why the Ezo should be helped at the expense of profit. This was done in spite of the expressed intention of the Bakufu, "to help the Ezo and not for the purpose of obtaining profit." The established exchange rate is discussed in Part One, Chap. III, Sect. 3, but aside from whether or not it was maintained to the letter it ought to be noted that it was retained in the spirit for many years. It is true that the rate was not observed in practice but on the other hand it is true that the idea of a standard rate survived for trade purposes.

## 2. ENCOURAGEMENT OF INDUSTRY

Bakufu policy was against the encouragement of idleness among the natives by undue generosity. The Ezo were encouraged to work and to earn their living. The trade was supervised so that the Ezo were not cheated and, at some places, fishing nets were loaned, fishing techniques introduced, fair compensation, in rice, for labor was enforced, and extra goods or sake provided for the extra deserving. When an Ezo became extra skilled at his work he received added pay or reward and it was made known that pay varied according to one's diligence. The result was that more Ezo began to fish or to engage in minor labor. In Kunashiri Island, under the Matsumae, the Ezo who fished or worked at the posts received very little in return, so they used to cross to Etorofu Island to work.

<sup>21</sup> "Among the goods exchanged between the Ezo and the officials sake is sold at a price below cost; however, since it is said that all other goods are priced at original cost plus freight plus a substantial margin of profit, it seems that this trade bears a quite large profit." Kansei jūichimen shōnin metsuke Aoyagi Sadaichi moshūge sōrō kakitsuke (Report by Aoyagi Sadaichi, chief censor, in 1799). Following is a comparison of prices at Nii-kappu Basho before government intervention [A] as seen in *Higashi Ezo Dōchū Ki* (Travel Record of East Ezo 1791) with prices under government control, [B] as seen in *Bakufu chōkatsumae no Nii-kappu basho ni okeru kōeki kakabu* two *Bunsei gonon Nii-kappu hikitsu gi bunshō* (Documents pertaining to various matters in transferring of Nii-kappu Basho to direct control by the Bakufu in 1822).

### Dried Salmon

### Dried Mushrooms

A. 3 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.

50 for one cup of sake.

B. 4 bundles for one Ezo sack of rice.

50 for one cup refined sake.

(One Ezo sack of rice equal 448 mon. One bundle of dried salmon equal 120 mon)

15 for one cup unrefined sake. (One cup refined sake equal 50 mon)

(One cup unrefined sake equal 15 mon)

(One mushroom equal 1 mon)

### Boiled Sea Cucumber

A. 40 for one shō of rice.

B. 56 for one shō of rice.

(One shō of rice equal 56 mon; One boiled sea cucumber equal 1 mon)

\*648 and fishing, even though farming in Ezo was primitive.<sup>27</sup>  
 \*175 It had other uses for Ezo labor. But despite the  
 211 change in attitude of the Bakufu and the active dis-  
 courage- ment of farming when the Matsumae resumed  
 control, the natives began gradually to grow crops on a  
 rude, small scale,<sup>28</sup> and by the end of the Bakufu period  
 farming had spread from Masuge in the north to  
 Kushiro in the east.

### 3. THE MANAGEMENT OF THE KURILES

\*648 Although the government paid much attention to  
 \*175 Hokkaidō, it was in the Kuriles that they put their  
 177 greatest effort and where they achieved good results.  
 During the Early Matsumae period *Basho* had been  
 set up as far as Kunashiri but all attempts to develop  
 Etorofu had failed. When the Russians came to  
 Etorofu in 1785 that island became the vital center of  
 Russo-Japanese negotiations. When the Bakufu stepped  
 in, Kondō Juzo was appointed to take charge of the  
 development of Etorofu.

However, since it was first necessary to find a good  
 sea route, Takadaya Kahei was sent to inspect the  
 surrounding waters and when, in 1800, a safe route  
 was determined, a vessel was sent with rice, salt,  
 tobacco, clothing, cloth, and tools to be given to the  
 people of Etorofu. Seventeen fishing grounds were  
 established, a post opened, and guards stationed to teach  
 new fishing techniques. At that time no Japanese  
 vessels visited Etorofu, the Ezo coming, from time to  
 time, in small boats, to Akkeshi, Kiritappu, and Kuna-  
 shiri to trade. They had, therefore, insufficient food  
 and clothes, their homes were small or else holes in the  
 ground, their clothes were animal skins, bird feathers,  
 and grass, and they even had to share a single pot for  
 cooking among several families. They had no nets for  
 salmon and trout and, finally, the climate was so cold  
 that many of them died of frost and hunger. It was  
 little wonder that the Ezo of Etorofu were happy to  
 work hard at fishing under instruction.<sup>29</sup>

The result in East Ezo was a success in that the  
 Bakufu's primary aim was achieved. The Ezo were  
 happy, trusted Japanese business transactions, and be-  
 came more favorable to the Japanese government. The

<sup>27</sup> The agriculture of the Ezo could never have been de-  
 veloped to such a stage when the Japanese at Matsumae were  
 still in the stage of burning over fields. See Takakura  
 Shinichirō, *Ainu no Nōgyō* (Ainu agriculture) in *Nōgyō*  
*Kizai Kenkyū* 9 (2).

<sup>28</sup> "When millet and barnyard grass were grown near Shamani  
 where the soil was fertile the Ezo approached and requested that  
 they also be permitted to grow such crops. They were given  
 species of these plants and tools were loaned as well which  
 seemed to make them most happy. However, although they  
 worked enthusiastically for a month or two nothing seems to  
 have resulted." "Kansei juichinen okonin metsuke. . ."

<sup>29</sup> Kondō Juzo, *Shoku Ezo Sōshi* [More tales of Ezo], Book  
 II, and Etorofuto ijin no fūzoku kai sōrō gi ni tsuki moshiaige  
 sōrō kakitsuke (Written opinion on the problem of changing the  
 customs of the Ezo on Etorofu), *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 3 of  
 SHS 5: 648.

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Ezo Zakki [Miscellaneous notes on Ezo] describes the situation of that time:

The reason for the increase of products is this—that when the island was under private management the amount of trade was small and no aid was given to the Ezo so that many of them lived in the mountains trapping birds and other animals for food. However, with the encouragement of fishing and other industries many of the Ezo came to live along the coast and, since they were hard-working men, production naturally increased. Consequently the Ezo received more money for their goods which enabled them to buy more food and necessities.

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The Bakufu's income increased with this rise in production and a profit was made which had not been originally anticipated, so that by 1802 it appeared possible to establish an independent account for Ezo. Although East Ezo was a success, the progressive policy of the Bakufu lost its vigor and, when in 1807 all of Ezo was taken from the Matsumae and placed under the Matsumae Magistracy, the Bakufu had no intention of managing the trade in West Ezo and indeed, in 1810, it abandoned its supervision of the East Ezo trade. In its conduct of trade it had been necessary for the government to buy goods on the market for shipment to Ezo; then it had to trade these goods to the natives and finally to sell the native goods to Japanese merchants. This dual business transaction was neither as simple, speedy, nor economical as when it was conducted by private merchants. It is true that it had modified the practices of trade and helped the Ezo but, with the old practices finally gone and the new methods well established, there were many who felt that direct control of trade was no longer needed.<sup>30</sup> Another reason for giving up trade control was that if West Ezo were included practically all the contractors would be put out of business, which in turn would weaken the power of the Matsumae.<sup>31</sup> It was therefore decided to place East Ezo back under the contract system and in 1810 the first contract was let to Takadaya Kahei for the trade in Etorofu, and following that other contracts were let out on bid and the contract system was thus renewed. Prior to this a contractor to qualify had to be a resident of Matsumae. This was widened to permit residents of Hakodate to be contractors. In addition a contractor was not to be just a trader but also an agent to transmit official letters and to supply messengers and horses. They were thoroughly advised as to the treatment of the natives and required to present a written oath that they would so treat the Ezo.<sup>32</sup> The Ezo were, in turn, assured that despite this

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in 1810 the first contract was let to Takadaya Kahei for the trade in Etorofu, and following that other contracts were let out on bid and the contract system was thus renewed. Prior to this a contractor to qualify had to be a resident of Matsumae. This was widened to permit residents of Hakodate to be contractors. In addition a contractor was not to be just a trader but also an agent to transmit official letters and to supply messengers and horses. They were thoroughly advised as to the treatment of the natives and required to present a written oath that they would so treat the Ezo.<sup>32</sup> The Ezo were, in turn, assured that despite this

<sup>30</sup> Nakano Genroku, *Waka Gojiron missho* (Secret note on Tanka), 1807.

<sup>31</sup> Okamoto Ryūnosuke, *Nichirō kōshō Hokkaidō shikō* (A documentary history of Russo-Japanese relations with regard to Hokkaidō) 1: 123 ff.

<sup>32</sup> According to the *Sankō Ezo Nisshi* the guards serving under Takadaya Kahei submitted the following pledge to the office at Okinokuni prior to their departure for Etorofu.

"We are most grateful that permission has been granted to us to enter the *Basho* of Takadaya Kahei on Etorofu. In con-

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indeed had even seemed indifferent. Many Bakufu officials had been proposing direct control for West Ezo.<sup>26</sup> Then it became known that in 1806 Russians had landed in Karafuto and had looted, destroyed houses, and taken both guards and Ezo as prisoners. This was the period when the Bakufu was losing its enthusiasm for managing Ezo and it was the local Magistracy in Matsumae which, upon news of the incident, turned its attention to Karafuto and developed a Russian policy.<sup>27</sup> While the management of Karafuto was not as active as that of Ezo, nevertheless, considerable attention was devoted to that area because of the Russian situation. Most noteworthy was the regulation of the Santan trade.<sup>28</sup> The Ezo of Karafuto had engaged for many years in trade with the Japanese, the Ezo of Hokkaidō, the Santan, and the Oroppo. Important among the goods traded were Chinese wares, which came into Japan from the Santan and Oroppo. These goods consisted of old clothes in the form of *Dangiri* [brocades], commonly called *Jittoku*; brocade and cotton goods known as *Karamomen* [cotton drill], and ornamental beads called *Karafutodama* [Karafuto jewels]. They were traded for marten, fox, or otter skin caught by the Ezo or for rice, yeast, or iron goods from Japan.<sup>29</sup> This was a constant trade which exercised a considerable cultural influence on the Ezo.<sup>30</sup>

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<sup>26</sup> In 1792 when a Bakufu official conducted an inspection of Karafuto he received reports from the Ezo that frequent trips were being made to that island by Russians and he even met some of them in Karafuto. As a result he reported on the need for keeping a close watch over that area. *Ezo Sōshi* 2.

<sup>27</sup> *Ichien jōchi no gi gonaikiku otorikime no gi gyonainaini mishiage sōrō kakitsuke, Kyūmei Kōki*, Suppl. 6 in *SHS* 5: 755 ff.

<sup>28</sup> "The Saghalien trade. . . ."

<sup>29</sup> Trade goods passing from the Santan to the Ezo:

Old clothes of brocade with dragon designs which had previously been the uniforms of Manchurian officials. Called *Bottō* in Santan and *Jittoku* in Matsumae dialect.

Dark blue brocade, cotton cloth.

Red brocade.

Satin, called *Shari*. The weaver's marking appear on them.

Yellow brocade.

Blue beads in large and small sizes, purple in color and with chrysanthemum shapes.

Chinese ebons of the Ch'ien lung and K'ang Hsi periods.

Smoking pipes similar to those used by the Chinese at Nagasaki.

Trade goods passing from the Ezo to the Santan:

Fox, seal and otter skins.

Japanese Yellow Marten [*Martes Melampus*] (the black ones were most valued).

Iron goods. The Santan valued iron and the reason is believed that either iron from Manchuria was scarce or that the fierce nature of the Santan demanded a large supply of weapons material. Axes, Ezo swords (the swords presented to the Ezo by the Matsumae), needles.

Sake, tobacco. Kondō Juzo, *Henyō Bunkai Zukō* (Illustrated treatise on the frontiers) 3 in *Kōfudō Seisai Zenshu* 1.

<sup>30</sup> A good example is the fact that a species of earthenware called *Otsuku* type is found in Karafuto and in Northeastern Hokkaidō as far as the Kuriles and articles excavated together with such earthenware show a striking contrast to what is found in the southwestern part of Hokkaidō.

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and it was an historic trade for the Japanese.<sup>38</sup> The goods in this trade were highly valued, considered as a part of the products of Matsumae, and even offered as gifts to the Bakufu.<sup>39</sup> Although these goods were all called Santan goods, they originally came from China. They were sold to Manchurians who took them to a trading post on the lower Amur where they were exchanged for the furs of the Santan who, in turn, brought them to Karafuto. In later years Karafuto Ezo went over to Santan and traded with the natives there or directly with the Manchurians. There were two main routes by which goods came in. The one in which goods were brought directly to Shiranushi by the Santan and the other where a Santan could cross the mountains from the west coast to the east coast to trade with the Orocco for animal skins. The Orocco would, in turn, trade these goods plus seal oil, at Roreinaibutsu, for the rice, yeast, tobacco, and skins which the Ezo of Sôya or Southern Karafuto brought to that spot. The latter route was insignificant in the amount of trade it handled.<sup>40</sup> Actually, the Santan trade was small compared with the Chinese trade at Nagasaki since boats only large enough for five men were used. But the wares handled were Chinese, and it was Bakufu policy to permit foreign trade only at Nagasaki, so the government could not ignore what was an illegal trade—particularly after it assumed direct control of Karafuto.<sup>41</sup> The trade had also assumed a political significance which placed it outside the sphere of an ordinary business transaction. We have a situation parallel to that when the Japanese first gained control of Ezo. A business relation is initiated, disputes develop, and the Santan, backed by the Manchurians, subdue the Ezo. The trade then assumes a tributary aspect with obligations on the Ezo and the Manchurians, as they had done with the Santan, establish officials among the Ezo who are called *Harata* and *Kashinda*,<sup>b</sup> similar to the *Otona* and *Kozukai* of the Japanese system. These officials

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found in the southwestern part of Hokkaidô. Saisen kai ed., *Hokkaidô Genshi Bunka Shuei* (Collection of materials on the primitive culture of Hokkaidô), intro. and pp. 19 ff.

<sup>38</sup> SHS 1: 79.

<sup>39</sup> "It was said that blue beads were brought into Karafuto from North Korai [the Korean kingdom of Silla] . . . although they were called Tsugaru insect nests . . . a careful inspection revealed that they were not the nests of insects and it was decided at this time that they be presented [to the Shogun]." *Ezo Dan Hikki*.

<sup>40</sup> Karafuto narabi ni santanjin no gi moto hanin e aitzune sôrô kakitsuke sashiage sôrô ni tsuki soesho kakitsuke mi gi (Materials attached to reports submitted by former guards in response to queries concerning Karafuto and the Santan), *Kyumei Kôki* 7 in SHS 5: 806 ff.

<sup>41</sup> "It has been announced officially that trade will be opened with Ezo and that trading posts will be established. The fact that trade which heretofore has been confined to the West will be opened in the East is truly a great turn of policy." *Ibid.*, 5: 764.

<sup>b</sup> J. Harrison, *Kita Yezo Zuesetsu* or a description of the island of Northern Yezo by Mamiya Rinsô, *Proc. Amer. Philos. Soc.* 99 (2): 100 fn., 1955.



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 the author of *Karafuto Shisei Enkakushi* [History of the Administration of Karafuto], was to obtain profit by encouraging trade and the reason he fixed the prices was not to benefit the Ezo but to set low prices on Santan wares.<sup>49</sup> This reasoning seems too far-fetched, for the Bakufu's intent in controlling the Santan trade was to regulate the trade rather than make money from it. It is true that this was not done merely for the benefit of the Ezo but it did gratify the natives. In addition it was reported that *Basho* managers were making huge profits from fishing and other industries, after this situation came about, because no Ezo were fleeing from debts; instead they were working safely under Japanese rule.

By controlling the Santan trade the Bakufu not only prevented Manchuria from aggrandizing Karafuto, which could have happened had no steps been taken, but an illegal trade was checked and help was extended to the Ezo which freed them of their debts and increased their labor power.

#### IV. THE NATIVE POLICY OF THE JAPANESE GOVERNMENT

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 I have noted previously that in order to eliminate native complaints and, at the same time, to provide that work which would raise the material standard of living, the Bakufu encouraged industries, opened up *Basho* and stopped malpractice in trade by supervising or directly conducting the trade itself. In addition when *Basho* officials were transferred every several years the *Otona* of the *Basho* were summoned to appear before the Magistrate at Matsumae in order to impress the natives with the dignity and power of that official. Furthermore, at least once a year *Omusha* was held at each *Basho* as a measure of presenting gifts and giving aid to the poor, sick, and elderly. Doctors were sent to look after the health of the natives and an effort was made to assimilate the Ezo spiritually. The following is devoted to the actions and problems concerned with the above.

##### 1. CEREMONIAL ARRANGEMENTS AND PROTOCOL

I have mentioned that in the Early Matsumae period it had been the custom for the various *Basho* chiefs to *ni Santanjin no gi aitarune sōrō kakitome* (An inquiry into matters concerning the Santan and Karafuto), *Kyumei Kōki* 7.

|                | 1802                                             | 1809                                                |
|----------------|--------------------------------------------------|-----------------------------------------------------|
| Chinese cotton | 3 otter skins                                    | 2 marten skins or 1 otter skin                      |
| smoking pipe   | 1 otter skin                                     | 1 marten skin or ½ otter skin                       |
| brocade        | 15 otter skins                                   | about 30 marten skins or at least 15 marten skins   |
| brocade gowns  | 24 sacks of rice each of 8 shō or 48 otter skins | at least 42 marten skins or at least 21 otter skins |

<sup>49</sup> *Karafuto Shisei Enkakushi* 1, and for the period prior to the Restoration see 2: 29 ff. See also Takakura Shinichirō, Kinsei ni okeru Karafuto o chūshin to shita Nichinan kōeki (Recent Japan-Manchurian trade centering around Karafuto) in 1 of *Hoppō Bunka Kenkyū Hōkoku*.

visit Matsumae to pay tribute, and that the Matsumae clan had taken advantage of this opportunity to oppress the natives with its authority and to treat with them in various ways. This custom was continued by the Bakufu. Among the Sixty-nine articles on the Administration of the Ezo territory set up by the Ezo Commissioner that article which had provided that Ezo be brought to Edo so that they might be influenced into submission and their customs thereby changed was later cancelled by orders from high authority. This move was protested by the Commissioner in a memorandum of March, 1800:

The reason for summoning *Otona* to Matsumae in the past was, in my opinion, to display Japanese power by showing them the weapons at the residence of the Lord Wakasa. In consideration of this practice and its significance it is my opinion that four or five *Otona* be summoned at least as far as Hakodate. The *Otona* of Akkeshi, Nemuro and other *Basho* should take their turns in different years in coming to Hakodate.<sup>1</sup>

It was not, however, until 1816 that this suggestion was put into practice.<sup>2</sup> At that time the Bakufu ruled that native representatives of each *Basho* should appear before and pay tribute to the Magistrate of Matsumae. These representatives were accompanied by officials from their respective *Basho* guard posts and the visits were made periodically. According to the *Nikkappu Basho Bunsho* written in June, 1822, and which seems to be a report made on the occasion of transferring the administration of that *Basho*,<sup>3</sup> their turn came every five years. When the year of the visit came around, the names of those who were to make the trip, i.e. *Otona*, *Kozukai*, two ordinary Ezo to act as servants and porters, interpreter and one guard, were submitted, together with a list of presents, to the Magistrate of Matsumae and to the Hakodate Office in the early part of February. The group would set off during the latter part of March when the roads were open. The expenses involved in making the journey were borne by the *Basho* contractor concerned and were seventy-five mon per person per day plus whatever added expenses were incurred if extra people or horses had to be hired. At those *Basho* which fished for salmon the visit could be postponed if it happened to coincide with the fishing season which came about every other year.

<sup>1</sup> Ezochi narabini Hakodate torihakarai kadokado moshigae sôrô kakitsuke (Memorandum on the administration of Ezo and Hakodate), *Kyûmei Kôki*, Suppl. 5 in *SHS* 5: 745 ff.

<sup>2</sup> "Since it has been decided that the visits would take place every five years beginning in 1816, next year which is 1823 will be the turn of this *Basho*." *Nikkappu Basho hikiwatashi shô* (Documents concerning the transfer of *Nikkappu Basho*) (written in 1822) from *Ezo Zassho* (Miscellaneous materials on Ezo). This indicates that in 1816 Ezo was divided into five districts in accord with the number of *Basho* and that the natives of each district rotated their visits in turn.

<sup>3</sup> Gorei Ezojin tetsuzuki chôsho (Procedures whereby the Ezo may express their gratitude) in *Ezo Zassho*. In *Ezo Fuzoku Isan* 1: 9.

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\* 648 age the burden of feeding them was borne by their  
\* 195 employers; *Kaishō* and/or *Unjōya* also made careful  
251 preparations in this matter and in lean years their  
657 storerooms were opened for relief purposes. The fol-  
[193] lowing paragraph appears in the *Kusuri Bashō Hiki-  
watasu ensetsusho*:

In case of a famine among the Ezo due to poor fishing  
two go of unpolished rice shall be given each person and  
salted cod and tangle shall be stored away for such an  
occasion. When information is had that the Ezo in the  
mountains are in want of food, relief goods shall be sent  
immediately and guards dispatched.

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\* 648 As a matter of fact, in 1799, preserved trout, oil  
\* 195 cakes, and rice were given away to 218 Ezo who came  
731 to the Nemuro *Bashō* from Shari and Sōya because of  
657 famine in those areas,<sup>13</sup> while in Karafuto rice was  
[511] distributed when fishing was poor.<sup>14</sup> All these are ex-  
amples of relief for the Ezo but as has been mentioned  
that trade which was conducted for the benefit of the  
natives also served as a relief measure in that it helped  
to raise their living standards. An outstanding ex-  
ample is that of Etorofu Island where the women and  
children who were badly in need of clothing became  
adequately clad as a result of this relief program.<sup>15</sup>

### 3. MEDICAL TREATMENT

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758 The Ezo had no doctors so to speak, and their medical  
[759] knowledge was confined to a few medicinal herbs  
and rudimentary self-aid. Moreover, their herbs and  
simples were used only through the medium of witch-  
craft and any seriously ill person had to depend on the  
ministrations of the witch doctors. After they came  
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[756] into contact with the Japanese, the Ezo suffered from  
epidemics of measles and smallpox and, unable to cope  
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[164] with these diseases, they left the stricken ones behind  
[177] and took to the mountains and, as a result, these dis-  
eases took a terrible toll. And yet the Matsumae not  
only refused to help the Ezo in such circumstances but

\* 648 <sup>13</sup> Nishichi Ezojin kikatsutsukamatsuri Nemuro Bashō e ni-  
758 gekoshi sōrō ni tsuki jōmei tsukamatsuri sōrō gi ototoke  
\* 195 moshiaige sōrō kakitsuke (Report in the matter of the succor  
of those famished Ezo of the West who had come into Nemuro  
*Bashō*). *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 10 in *SHS* 5: 955 ff.

<sup>14</sup> *Hokui Dan* 4.

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[565] <sup>15</sup> "Since the wages of Ezo women were less than those of  
[562] Ezo men, they could not afford wadded clothes and they wore  
[291] clothes made of sealskin and of *Atsushi* while the children for  
the most part went naked. It was, therefore, arranged to have  
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[657] their wages increased and their treatment improved. Wadded  
clothes for women and children were prepared and the *Otona*  
were instructed to see that they were distributed first to all  
the children and then to the women. This was greatly ap-  
preciated by the natives. At present a large number of Ezo  
women are wearing wadded clothes and no children without  
clothes can be seen. There are children among the Ezo of  
other areas who have nothing to wear but this is not true of  
Kumashiri island." *Kyumei Kōki*, *SHS* 5: 803. Refer also to  
"Ezochi goyō shui shihai. . . ."

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Japanese language was cancelled and its use was encouraged. Bad traditions were discouraged and moral instruction was given along with reading and writing while a sort of military training, for use in emergencies, was conducted.<sup>28</sup> Among the customs the Bakufu tried to abolish were polygamy and *Tsugunai*. Most of the Ezo with any social standing kept mistresses, some as many as ten or more and this created a situation where poor boys, when they matured, were unable to get a wife. The Bakufu did everything possible to discourage polygamy while, at the same time, encouraging monogamy. *Tsugunai*, the ancient practice of disputation in which the loser forfeited his worldly goods had been turned, by the greedy, into a sort of survival of the fittest. Attempts had been made to abolish it in the pre-Bakufu period and the Bakufu, in turn, tried vigorously to stamp it out.<sup>29</sup> The Bakufu also taught the Ezo to be obedient to parents, to live in harmony with one's relatives, to be honest at all times, and not to argue or quarrel, and the Bakufu officials themselves tried to set the examples which they taught.

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 [681]  
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 \*C48  
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Education instructions in these matters and commendation for success achieved usually took place at *Omusha* in order that the awards receive as much public attention as possible to stimulate the others. For example, an Ezo of Kunashiri named Hera was given permission to sit beside the chief on *Omusha* day and he was then awarded a suit of clothes because the report of the officials showed that he was a dutiful son.<sup>30</sup> Furthermore, awards surpassing the mere giving of gifts were available at times other than *Omusha*. An interesting example is that of Ezo Apepana of Uenbetsu.

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The official Inoue Tatsunosuke of Nemuro had noticed that Apepana, despite his youth, was a hard-working man and he tried to get him to go to Nemuro *Kaisho* to work. Apepana refused on the grounds that he was obliged to support his family. Inoue was so struck with this sense of duty that he remarked, "Mere goods were not enough to praise his devotion to his parents." and he had the entire family of Apepana

<sup>28</sup> That the Bakufu attempted to make use of the natives in time of emergency can be seen in the report of an *Omusha* from Etorofu. It instructs young men to assemble at the post bearing their own weapons when Russian vessels are sighted. In Karafuto the Ezo were assembled and given bows and arrows and rifles as well as military instruction while the guards were given such assignments as mobilizing the natives, watching out for fire hazards, patrolling Ezo dwellings and preparing food.

<sup>29</sup> An example of the abuse of *Tsugunai* is found in the *Higashi Ezo Nikki*. It states that when a servant of chief Sakana of Abuta fell to his death in a waterfall near Subetsu, the chief claimed that, "My servant's death is due to the existence of such a waterfall in *Usu Basho*. The waterfall, therefore, shall be given to me as compensation" and he won his argument. The *Kamikawa Kenbun Kidan* [Strange stories and observations about Kamikawa] states that a native wishing to obtain a treasured bowl owned by another conspired with his wife to accuse the other of adultery and achieved his purpose. It is believed that in this period such cases were not infrequent.

<sup>30</sup> *Hokkaido Shi* 15.

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were hired.<sup>20</sup> Medicine was supplied by the authorities and the doctors were paid a scale according to treatment.<sup>21</sup>

|                                               |                       |
|-----------------------------------------------|-----------------------|
| One package of powder medicine                | 3 bu in silver        |
| Five pieces of plaster each two inches square | 3 bu in silver        |
| Moxa treatment                                | 100 mon per treatment |
| Medicine for eye diseases                     | 1 bu 2 shu            |

Furthermore, the Bakufu furnished bedding for each patient and brought them into the *Unjōya* for treatment.<sup>22</sup> This health program was not merely a paper one but was actually carried out although it is not possible to determine now what the effect was on the health of the native population. Possibly only a handful of Ezo living in the vicinity of the *Kaishō* were able to enjoy these benefits since the number of doctors assigned was woefully insufficient when the vastness of the country is considered.

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#### 4. GUIDANCE

Native education was of prime importance to the Bakufu. The prohibition against native use of the

<sup>20</sup> Following is a character certificate for Doctor Miura Gentoku of Hakodate; from *Heishin Jōtetsu*, No. 2:

#### CHARACTER CERTIFICATE

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1. We are most grateful in having Miura Gentoku appointed as a Bakufu doctor with sufficient allowance to support five persons starting from the month of his appointment and continuing to his return to Hakodate plus a daily allotment of five bu of silver from the day of his departure for the *Basho* until his return to Hakodate. After his arrival at the assigned *Basho*, it is understood and agreed that he shall without fail comply with any further orders. Whatever might occur to him during his assignment, the consequences shall be borne by the undersigned.

2. All instructions and laws shall be strictly observed. Furthermore, he shall not conduct any business transactions with the Ezo at the *Basho* nor shall he surreptitiously request any native products.

3. It is understood that one horse will be ready for his use to and from the *Basho*. Each *Kaishō* in the *Basho* will be paid twenty-five mon toward the furnishing of this horse. In West Ezo the compensation for the use of the horse will be paid according to rates prevailing in that area.

4. It is understood that medicines will be supplied by the Bakufu for which he shall pay and that the Bakufu will pay three bu of silver for each package of medicine used in treatment of the natives.

5. We certify that his religion is that of the Zen sect and that his parish temple is the Koryūji temple at Hakodate. A certificate of the temple will be submitted upon request.

We the undersigned, in gratitude for this appointment, hereby submit this deed of acceptance.

February 1812

The Government of Hakodate

To The Bakufu

Kishuya Kihei (Seal)

Miura Gentoku (Seal)

<sup>21</sup> Bunsei mizunoeuma seiichi.

<sup>22</sup> According to the instructions posted in front of the agency at Akkeshi which are found in the "Kimura Shikyō . . ." it was stated that "Any Ezo when ill will be given treatment at the agency."

the formation of groups was prohibited and one who informed the authorities of such illegal societies was to be exculpated from his own offenses including even membership in such a group. The Ezo were instructed that on the occasion of *Omusha* they should present to the managers any disputes which they were unable to settle among themselves.<sup>20</sup> It is a very difficult thing to enact legislation for people of a different race, language, customs, and cultural standards, for if the law is not brought into line with their habits, it can exist only nominally and, if the law is forced on these people, they will rebel and the result will be contrary to the original purpose of the laws.

Hayashi's three brief and simple laws were an attempt to avoid conflict with native custom. However, it is doubtful that these laws were fully carried out among the Ezo. While the Ezo chiefs were gradually losing their power to the Japanese, they still had great authority in their own villages and they were the law, and control of the Ezo still lay in the hands of their chiefs. Furthermore, the Bakufu was exceedingly careful not to arouse antagonism by destroying through law any ancient customs and it intended to work through the chiefs rather than to snatch their power from them. The death penalty in article two presented an awkward problem since the imposition of a penalty of death was

~~disrespectful to the Ezo.~~

natives. However, without any laws there would be no way to punish violent conduct and those in the wrong. It is, therefore, proposed that the Three Articles of Law enacted by the founder of the Han Dynasty upon his arrival in Shensi when he overthrew the despotic rule of Ch'in be adopted and that an additional article be added prohibiting perverted religion since Ezo is contiguous to Russian territory. These articles conform with the laws of Japan and will prevent any wrongdoing in the future. Furthermore, they are based on authority which fact will, no doubt, satisfy all parties concerned in the matter. The three articles mentioned are actually two articles which deal with three different matters and they state: 'The death penalty shall be invoked for murder'; 'Persons inflicting injury on others and persons committing robbery shall be punished'; and 'The infliction of injuries on others may be due to various reasons, some good and others bad. Degrees of robbery also vary. Therefore, a fixed punishment cannot be set beforehand. When a person has committed either one of these three things, he has violated the law but the extent to which he shall be punished must be decided after the fact.' Considering the possibility of adapting to present-day use some of the olden punishments, we find that for those who committed serious crimes, there were such penalties as cutting off the hair and hulling rice by mortar and pestle; that is, the guilty paid for their crime by manual labor. These penalties are no longer in existence but it would be an excellent idea, in my opinion, to set a certain length of time, say three or five years, as punishment for persons who inflict injuries on others or who commit robbery. During that period the convicts shall have their heads shaved and will be put to hard work constructing roads or cultivating land in order to pay for their crimes. They are to be set free when they have served their time. Other misdemeanors not covered by this law may be punished in the same manner with the length of sentence running from six months to one year." *Kyumei Koki*, Suppl. 1. *SHS* 5: 568-569.

<sup>20</sup> Refer to Etorofu *Omusha moshawatashi no koto* (Instructions on *Omusha* at Etorofu).

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moved to Nemuro and looked after there. The effect of this on the other Ezo was great for the *Hokkaidō Shi* states that "it was an honor for the entire village."<sup>26</sup> It is also said that on the day after the commendation of Hero, Kondō Juzo, noticing one of his Ezo servants buying a pipe, asked him what he intended to do with it, to which the servant replied that he "was going to send it to his parents."

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No special facilities were established for instruction in the Japanese language but the mere attitude of allowing the natives to use the language was sufficient encouragement in itself for those who wanted to learn to pick it up from guards, interpreters, and other Japanese. In the records kept by the officials who visited Ezo after the area was turned back to the Matsumae clan we find frequent reference to native protests against despotic contractors which were made by Ezo who could speak Japanese. It is also recorded that by the middle of the nineteenth century there were Ezo who were able to write Kana.<sup>27</sup> The most outstanding service in the field of language teaching was rendered by such enthusiasts as Mogami Tokunai, Kimura Shikyō, and the priests of the three temples of Ezo.<sup>28</sup>

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Ohara Sakingo was one of the first to advocate military training for the natives on the ground that they would then be able to participate in national defense. His opinion was fortified by the Russian invasions of 1806-1807<sup>29</sup> and as a result the Ezo of Karafuto were given training in the use of bows and arrows and firearms.<sup>30</sup> When an Ezo attacked a Russian during the invasion of Etorofu in 1807, we are told, by the *Banridō Kaiiki*, that the native was sent to Edo, given fifty bales of rice, permitted to wear a sword, and made chief native interpreter. This, of course, was an extreme example of the attitude of the Bakufu in its guidance policies.

#### 5. EDUCATION

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A significant factor in Ezo education was the establishment of temples in Ezo in 1802. The major reason for introducing these agencies of religion was to provide for the conduct of funeral services and for masses for deceased officials and Japanese immigrants while at the same time supervising religious activities where it was necessary to do so.

<sup>26</sup> See Ezojin Kōshi hōshō no ki (Commendation record of Ezo faithful to their parents) found in *Ezo Zassho*. Refer also to Vol. 15 of *Hokkaidō Shi*.

<sup>27</sup> In Vol. 1 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* an example is given of an Ezo woman who was fluent in Japanese having learned it from a Japanese who had come to that area to work.

<sup>28</sup> In *Ezo Sashi* Mogami Tokunai tells how he taught literature to his servant Furiyunto and how the servant was capable of mastering what he was taught. In the *Kimura-Shikyō* ... a letter is found which was written by Kimura's servant Atsukeshitaro and addressed to Kimura.

<sup>29</sup> Hotta Settsu no Kami. . . , *Kyume Kōki*, Suppl. 3 in *SHS* 5: 1215.

<sup>30</sup> *Hokui Dan*.



Fudai Japan AB2  
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As a matter of fact there were at this time some Ezo converts on Etorofu.<sup>24</sup>

This problem of Christian conversion of the ignorant Ezo was a grave one to the Bakufu. With the beginning of the direct administration of the Kuriles all images of Christ possessed by Kurilese were confiscated, crosses torn down, and resident Russians driven away. The seriousness of this concern with religion can be seen in the three articles of the first written law enacted among the Ezo, for the first article read:

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1. Followers of perverted religions and those who follow foreigners shall be severely punished.

Following the opinions of its Magistrates the Bakufu established the Zenkōji temple (Jōdo sect) at Usu in East Ezo, the Tōjuin temple (Tendai sect) at Samashi, and the Kokutaiji temple (Zenshū sect) at Akkeshi. These temples were built and maintained at government expense. Furthermore, each temple was assigned a definite mission area. The Zenkōji temple had the area from Yamakoshinai to Shiraoi, the Tōjuin temple was allotted the region from Yubutsu to Horoizumi, and the Kokutaiji temple took charge of the land east of Tokachi. The temple regulations of 1804 read:

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1. Services are to be carried out faithfully for the peace and safety of the nation.

2. The Ezo are to be taught to follow the laws and customs of the Japanese.

3. Masses for the dead are to be held whenever needed.

4. Avoid any conduct disgraceful to the nation when foreigners arrive from neighboring countries.

April, 1804<sup>25</sup>

The temples had an important role in native education but, while they controlled the religious activities of the land and conducted funeral services for Japanese, they did not refuse funeral rites for the natives and they were not allowed to interfere with the customary ways of the Ezo, for it was frequently announced that the temples were not built in order forcibly to convert the natives.<sup>26</sup> On the other hand, many priests became missionaries and brought Buddhism to the Ezo. A significant part of the history of modern colonization is the role played by religion and missionaries. The religious who protected, guided, and fought against governments in behalf of those native populations which were being degenerated by the maltreatment and ex-

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<sup>24</sup> Shibata Sadakichi, *Kirisutokyō no Ezo torai ni tsuite* (The introduction of Christianity into Ezo), *Hokkaidō Kyōdo Kenkyū* (Researches into the local history of Hokkaidō), 230.

<sup>25</sup> *Kokutai* No. 1 published by the Kokutaiji temple in Akkeshi.

<sup>26</sup> "The purpose of establishing the temple is primarily to take care of the dead among officials and other Japanese from the mainland and secondarily to block the spread of any perverted religion. It has not been done for the sake of changing the funeral customs of the Ezo. The natives are to be left to their own practices. However, if any of them desires that a funeral in the Japanese manner be conducted, then it shall be done." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1 in *SHS* 5: 1020-1021.

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 exploitation of mercenary and avaricious colonists, played a role of almost immeasurable influence. Good examples of this are the Puritans who left their home under a yoke of religious persecution to cross to undeveloped North America and the Catholic priests who, enduring danger and difficulty, acted as evangelists to create a Kingdom of the Spirit in the lands colonized by Spain and Portugal. In the history of Japan's colonial Northeast the records show that Buddhism was encouraged as a part of a policy of assimilation and rule.<sup>87</sup> There are, however, no records<sup>88</sup> of the role of religion under the Matsumae who had no colonization policy anyway, although the Japanese population of the early Matsumae area was reasonably large and a number of temples were built. Some Ezo may have been converted to religion under the Matsumae but the basic and main purpose of religion in that period was to cater to Japanese needs and not to proselyte. Nevertheless, despite the lack of records, there was some pre-Bakufu Buddhist influence in the Northeast. Leaving aside the legend of St. Nichiji who is said to have crossed to Manchuria from Ezo in the Shōō period [1288-1292], there is the example of Kaiki who is said to have built the Zenkōji temple at Usu in the Tencho period [824-833] and therefore must have preached to the natives living near the temple. It is also possible that other Buddhist priests such as Enku<sup>89</sup> went to Ezo to teach the way of the Buddha but there are no records and only glimpses such as the following passage in *Igen Zokusa*:

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 There are, in a temple at Usu in East Ezo, small bells and a large rosary used for prayers to be repeated a million times and it is said that the Ezo come to the temple to pray a million times and since Usu is located near Japan there are a number of Ezo who have learned to speak Japanese which they use in saying their prayers and masses.

It should be noted that the Bakufu, originators of a colonial policy, included religious activities as part of their policy although their motives may have been mixed and the priests, although their efforts are not comparable to the missionary activities of the religions of other countries, did strive to help the Ezo. The priest Ranshū of the Zenkoji temple wrote a "Guide to Posterity" for the Ezo and in May, 1807, when foreign ships appeared in Tsugaru Strait and Russian men of war invaded Etorofu, he set up Buddhist banners at various points to be guarded by Ezo and he taught the Ezo to prefer death rather than disgrace. He also drafted an admonition and a pledge which he published with an explanation in the Ezo tongue.<sup>90</sup> He is also

<sup>87</sup> *Dai Nihon Shi* 242, Foreign biographies Ezo. Jō (No. 1). In 699 the Empress Jitō send Buddhist furnishings to the Ezo Buddhist priest in Mutau.

<sup>88</sup> Takakura, Shinichirō, Enku Natzukuri no Zō (Idol of Enku Dasaku), Ezo Ōrai, No. 11.

<sup>89</sup> I am not familiar with the contents of the Gose no Shiori (Guide to the coming generation) written by Ranshū. However, the entire contents of the instructions to the Ezo can be found in Vol. 2 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki*. Owing to its complexity, it will not be quoted here.

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Ezo as a guide for the propagation of his faith<sup>41</sup> and the priest Wanan of Tōjuin temple who is said to have "influenced many natives to become his followers."<sup>42</sup> The work of these men had a lasting effect. In Vol. 3 of *Higashi Ezo Nikki* written by Matsuura Takeshirō it is noted that the Ezo living in the Abuta and Usa areas were Buddhists and knew the words of the Buddhist prayers. In the *Tōkai Yama* [East Ezo Evening Tales] written by Ōuchi Yoan there is the story that an Ezo called Shakeroku of Akkeshi, whose father having been unexpectedly killed by a bear, "held a funeral service with the head priest of Kokutaiji temple at Keiunzan presiding over the ceremony." The same book also notes that when the Ainu of Akkeshi visited Kokutaiji temple and knelt before the altar, they worshipped in Ainu style and chanted prayers in their own language saying, *Idetsuki, Obitsuta, Uenguro Obitsuta Pirikakiudonshikama* which meant: "Acts of evil shall not be done. Good deeds shall be done."<sup>43</sup> Nevertheless, the work of these priests cannot be compared with the role of the religious in the colonial history of other countries for, while those policies were the joint efforts of government and missionary, the colonial activity of Japan was directed to restricting the activities of Buddhist priests rather than aiding them, and as a consequence the missionary activities of Buddhist priests were strictly personal activities devoid of government aid. We must also remember that in those days Buddhism was unworldly and introspective and the priesthood was degenerate, for, although there were those who carried out their mission, there were those who completely neglected their work. Onōdera Hōkoku gives us some examples:

the three temples of Ezo . . . are said to have been established during the Bakufu administration for the purpose of enlightening the natives and also to prevent perverse religion from spreading among the Ezo. How can one expect present-day priests to have such lofty ideals? Their misbehavior, abusing the name of the Bakufu, has been a constant source of worry to the Matsumae. The reason for this is that the term of service for priests delegated to this island is ten years during which period the clan and the *Unjōya* defray all expenses. It is said that there are some priests who think of nothing but asking for everything they want and that a head priest can earn about a thousand ryō in ten years after which he returns to the mainland and an easy life in some temple. When I visited Hakodate in 1853, a replacement for the head priest of Kokutaiji temple was also there. He had been there

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<sup>41</sup> (1) *Iteki Raige* (Killing is prohibited). (2) *Iteki Itsuko* (Theft is prohibited). (3) *Iteki Omoinu* (Adultery is prohibited). (4) *Iteki Suyunge* (Rumor mongering is prohibited). (5) *Iteki Tonoto Iku* (Drinking is prohibited). *Tanashikine Ikuizuku Pirikano Kentomo Otzuta Shitsukazuman Nehito Eharupa Yatsuka Yaitobarewa Tonashino Hoshipiniha* (The above five instructions are to be strictly observed and wherever you may go you are to take care of yourself and it is desired that you return as soon as possible). *Kusuri Nikki* and *Sapporo Kushi*, 234.

<sup>42</sup> *Hokkaido Shi*, 15.

<sup>43</sup> *Kokutai* No. 1.

[P. 75(A)]

distasteful to the Ezo. For example, in 1801, the problem arose of whether or not to execute the death sentence on the *Otona* Tashanishi of Kushiro who had killed one of his own men. Japanese officials inquired of neighboring chiefs as to whether or not the penalty should be enforced. The opinion of the chiefs was in favor of Tashanishi with the added proviso that if he were executed they would rebel.<sup>31</sup> The magistrate's report listed the actual culprit as Rikinkaru son of Tashanishi who while drunk struck the victim with a deer horn which injury led to the man's death. The offender apologized and requested a reconciliation by offering compensation. This occurred in August, 1799, only a few months after the promulgation of the new laws. The case was settled by Bakufu agents in form of a warning to the offender and an explanation that the new laws had not been in force long enough to be understood. The compensation was rejected as being against Bakufu policy.<sup>32</sup> This incident leads to the conclusion that the enactment of law was a difficult problem.<sup>33</sup>

## 7. THE ALTERATION OF CUSTOMS

The Bakufu policy was first to appease and then to guide and finally to assimilate. But while guidance of the mind is an ideal policy, obtaining quick results from such a policy is another question. However, native guidance being an urgent matter, Bakufu officials strove to alter native customs and to Japanize the daily pattern of life. Those who desired to change customs were permitted to shave their heads and adopt Japanese hair styles and were given Japanese clothes. Japanese style homes were given to industrious persons and their names were changed to sound as though they were Japanese. The Bakufu abolished the old Matsumae prohibitions against the use of hats in rainy weather, straw rain coats and straw sandals, while on the other hand, the use of earrings and tattooing was prohibited. In this way it was hoped to alter the appearance of the natives so that as much as possible their mode of living would look Japanese. It should be added that agriculture was encouraged in an attempt to make the Ezo live on cereals instead of meat<sup>34</sup> while the traditions of *Mekhakiri*<sup>35</sup> and the bear festival were prohibited.<sup>36</sup>

<sup>31</sup> Mogami Tokumai, Akkeshi Ran moshiaige (Report on the rebellion at Akkeshi).

<sup>32</sup> Higashi Ezo Kusuri Basho Otona Tashanishi ikken no gi ni tsuki otazune no omomuki *Itani kotae moshiaige sôrô* (Reply to your request for information concerning the incident of Tashanishi the *Otona* of Kusuri Basho in East Ezo), *Kyumei Kôki*, Suppl. 6, *SHS* 5: 786-787.

<sup>33</sup> Takakura Shimichirô, Waga kuni saisho no shokuminchi hosei (The first colonial laws of this country), *Hôritsu Shunju* 5 (4).

<sup>34</sup> Ezochi Goyoshui shikaimuki môshiwasatsari sôrô.

<sup>35</sup> According to *Hokkaidô Shi* 1: 475, *Mekhakiri* was a ceremony in which "the relatives of the deceased gathered to weep and to beat with sticks or the blunt side of a sword in an attempt to forget their grief." It is also called *Mekkauchi*. *Mekka* means "the back of a thing" and *Uchi* or *Kiri* probably

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On every possible occasion the Bakufu persuaded the natives to follow the Japanese way. The importation of earrings was banned<sup>57</sup> while every encouragement was given to the importation of Japanese commodities. The government awarded Japanese clothing to those who did adopt Japanese customs. The Bakufu policy was to select a model native, from the Japanese point of view, and reward him lavishly so that others might desire to follow his example. The magistrates also made a practice of taking ten or more Ezo to Edo when the rotation period for officials came so that the natives might see for themselves the customs in Edo as a model way of life. This policy was discontinued because of opposition from officials in Edo.<sup>58</sup> The island of

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meant "to strike or to cut." Although there are as yet no research findings which completely clarify the meaning of this word, the article on *Shuto* in *Ezo Sangyō Zushin* (written by Murakami Shimanojo and supplemented by Mamiya Rinsō) gives the impression that it was a gesture of purification akin to *Ukuru* (see Takakura Shinichirō, Ainu Keibatsu [Ainu penalties] in *Hōritsu Shunshū*, 6 (3)). In my opinion, those cases in which clubs were used during *Ukuru* came to be called *Shutouchi* or *Tsuchiuchi* and cases where the back of a sword were used were called *Mekkauchi*. In olden days the usage of these two terms was confused and *Shutouchi* was called *Mekkauchi* or *Mikkauchi*. To the Japanese it seemed a most barbarous ceremony. It was described as: "Persons who visit the relatives of the deceased to offer their condolences would draw their swords and with the blunt edge would strike once the forehead of the relatives which caused blood to flow. The visitors who had struck the relatives once would then in the same manner be themselves struck three times which would cause their heads to bleed. This was called *Mekkauchi*." (*Ezo Shima Kiroku* [Records of Ezo Island] found in *Gunsho Ruiju* 2.) Furthermore, although it seems that only *Mekkauchi* was prohibited, it is probable that the practice of *Ukuru*, also often used as a punishment, was also banned. Together with dances, *Ukuru* was shown to entertain the Inspectors and in *Ezo Shima-Kikan* it states that, "with one stroke it sometimes happened that a person would fall dead or be seriously injured." The reason, we may presume, that this practice was prohibited is that from this period onward nothing can be found which mentions *Shutouchi* which had once been one of the famous attractions of Ezo. *Mekkauchi* remains today only in the form of *Rorunbeapukashi* in which a discussion is held with *Sara Kamui* (the god of disaster).

<sup>58</sup> The bear ceremony was indispensable to the Ainu who were a hunting people. They prayed, during the ceremony for abundant game. (Kindaichi Kyōsuke, *Kuma matsuri no hanashi* [Story of the bear festival], *Minzokugaku* 1 (2).) However, Bakufu officials by merely considering the superficial aspects of this ceremony in which a bear is tortured to death, proclaimed it to be cruel and prohibited it. Since it was impossible for the Ezo to hunt while this ceremony was banned, the result was that the prohibition had little effect.

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<sup>57</sup> "Articles such as earrings which are against the customs of the mainland shall be excluded from the list of trade goods and the Ezo shall be induced to follow the practices of the Japanese. The same is true of other tools and implements." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 552.

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<sup>58</sup> "When we return to Edo this winter, we wish to have accompany us about ten or more Ezo men and women who wish to do so in order that they may see for themselves the prosperity of Edo. These people would then relate their experiences to other natives which would, in our opinion, be of help in altering their customs. The reason for including

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Etorofu, next to Russian territory, was where the government concentrated its efforts. When Kondō Juzo began his exploration of the island, the natives were given Japanese clothes and a number of Ezo were persuaded to shave their beards,<sup>89</sup> dress their hair à la Japanese, and change their names.<sup>90</sup> Furthermore, the terms "headman" for *Otona* and "villagers" for ordinary natives were encouraged and the home village system was established in that island. The importance the Bakufu attached to Etorofu was rewarded by a considerable change there in the way of life. Those Ezo on nearby islands such as Haushibi of Sharushamu, Uruppu and Ichiyangemushi of Rashowa who had accepted Russian customs altered their ways to those of Japan. It is reported that as evidence of such acceptance of things Japanese *Kaizoku-hai* ["transformation cards"] were issued to be worn around the neck.<sup>91</sup> According to Yamazaki Hanzō's *Ezo Nikki*, the as-

women is that it is customary for the Ezo to take their wives with them on trips. If someone should fall ill en route, the women could look after him and furthermore, these women, bearing tattoos, may stop the practice after observing the people of Edo." *Kyumei Kōki*, Suppl. 1, *SHS* 5: 553.

"In regard to bringing Ezo to Edo it is a good idea in promoting friendly relationships with them and in influencing them with our ways of doing things. However, if expediting this be the sole purpose of having them go to Edo, then the suggestion cannot be approved. The general trend among the Ezo is that of a gradual alteration of their customs and it does not seem wise to make a special effort in that direction. Therefore, it is recommended that natives be brought to Edo some other time when it is deemed more fit and that it not be done now." *Ibid.*, 567.

<sup>89</sup>"The beard was shaved and buried. This was called *Higetsuka* [Beard mound]."

<sup>90</sup>For example, the *Sō Otona* Rurishibi of Shana was renamed Rurisuke and the *Sō Kazukai* Numtorushi was renamed Higetsuke. *Kondō Seisai Zenshū* 1: 20.

<sup>91</sup>The following is found in Abe Masami, *Kaitakushi Sanken jidai no Ainu kyōiku* (Education among the Ainu during the Kaitakushi and Sanken periods), *Rekishi Chiri* 37: 166.

"The tags were made of brass, copper or wood. It is said that the brass tags were given to *Waki Otona*, copper tags to *Sō Kazukai* or *Otona*, and wooden tags to ordinary natives. On the occasion of the Russian invasion in 1807 there were rumors that natives in the possession of such tags would be put to death whereupon all the natives are said to have disposed of them. The sample given below is said to have been in the possession of Hirano Suteroku, grandson of Tohira, who in 1882 donated it together with other articles to the Tōkyō Museum. (The shape is oval.)

—Front—

Granted in the Kinoto-ushi year of Bunka [1805]  
The resident of Etorofu, Greater Japan  
Tohei

Conversion Tag

Previous name

Toiken

Born at Pinnepetsu

—Reverse Side—

Kikuchi Sonai (Seal)  
Sekiya Mohachiro (Seal)"

[P.78(A)]

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similation policy of the Bakufu extended to a physical union of the two races.

When Bakufu officials were first dispatched to Etorofu Island, the Lord Shinshu (Matsudaira Shinano) was secretly instructed to arrange marriages between Ezo women and Japanese guards who were to serve long periods on the island. I have found during my visit to the island this year (1804) that one of the guards, as of last year, was the father of eight children, of whom five were in good health. Unfortunately three of them died. . . .

It is also reported that similar attempts at union were made on Kunashiri Island.<sup>22</sup>

However, the daily customs and traditions of a race are deeply rooted in the life of a people since they have been formed over many years through the character of the race and its environment. Therefore, to legislate change or to expect quick results from such legislation is extremely difficult. If this difficulty be disregarded and the changes enforced, the result, as history shows, will be rebellion. The Bakufu realized this and instructed their officials to change things in a gradual manner. Instructions read:

The people should be encouraged to change their customs. However, patience must be exercised in making the people change to Japanese ways; otherwise, their sentiments will be aroused against us thus making the achievement of our aims impossible. We must wait until that time when the people themselves desire the change. This is especially true in changing the customs of the women.

Further instructions on the abolition of undesirable habits read: "Although it is our desire that evil practices be done away with simultaneously through the land, a hasty order will have ill effects on the feelings of the

178

<sup>22</sup> "Since the year before last we have been teaching the Ezo to follow the customs of Japan. As a result, the Ezo have done away with tattooing, *Mekkanchi*, *Tsuchiuchi*, and other customs and practices. There are even a considerable number who have acquired some Japanese, especially children among whom are many who have learned the Japanese syllabary. However, there are as yet none who have shaved their heads except for a few employed by the agency. However, prior to the Bakufu administration, agency employees shaved their heads only during their period of employment after which they returned to their old ways. In reference to these matters we are observing your instructions and are not persuading the natives to alter their ways. Those who have direct contact with the Ezo have been carefully briefed to that effect and your generous consideration is being constantly relayed through interpreters to the natives who show great satisfaction. We have also been teaching these people that their conduct must be consistent with their belief. They are gradually showing some response to this for last year a group of *Otona* expressed appreciation for what had been taught them and stated that all the children on the island would be brought up to follow Japanese manners. At that time we merely stated our approval of the matter but true enough, ever since the Bakufu took over, not one of the babies born since shows the marks of earrings or tattoos. If this situation prevails, we believe it will not be long before the natives will have made the change of their own accord." *Kyumei Koki*, Suppl. 7, Kunashiritō ittai no gi moshiage sōrō kakituske (Report on the general situation on Kunashiri Island), SHS 5: 802-803.



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people" and "Thus the task cannot be carried out immediately but the intention should always be borne in mind."<sup>43</sup> Thus Bakufu policy was to go no further than to induce the natives themselves to desire a change.

Great success was had in some areas. In the *Matsumae Kikō* [Journey through Matsumae], written in 1808, it is said that in the area between Ootoshibe and Nodaai "there were many men and women who suddenly took to Japanese ways." On the other hand, there were areas where over-enthusiastic officials prohibited *Mekkakiri* and the bear festival and enforced changes and thus created ill feeling and criticism among the Ezo. This was particularly true in those areas which had had little contact with Japanese. Since some of the Ezo chiefs of that day had both power and sense, they refused to follow the instructions of Bakufu officials.<sup>44</sup> When Matsudaira Tadaaki passed through Biro *Basho* (later called Tokachi *Basho*), he issued orders for the Ezo to bow and kneel instead of rubbing together their palms because he disliked the latter gesture.<sup>45</sup> It was reported that the Ezo replied that, while it was easy for them to alter their etiquette, they felt uneasy about a future under officials who could not appreciate their customs and, no matter how the interpreters tried to solace the natives, their suspicions could not be quieted.<sup>46</sup> Mogami Tokunai who realized the difficulty inherent in this policy and who opposed the changes stated in his *Ezo Sōshi*, Vol. 2:

It is stated in the chapter on Royal Administration in the Book of Rites that, where people differ in their laws, tools, clothes, and moral standards, it is best they be educated and their government improved but their customs and moral standards be left unchanged. This should be borne in mind in governing Ezo.

Baba Masamichi mentions this matter in his *Chōya-yoron* [Long Nights Conversations] wherein he ridicules the ignorance of those Bakufu officials who urged the natives to live on cereals instead of meat and to use cotton instead of warm furs. He states:

it was difficult for even the saints to change an established custom so, for ordinary men, this task is impossible. It is best that the natives be left alone and that we wait for them to become loyal subjects. However, this does not necessarily mean that those natives who are yet to be

<sup>43</sup> Ezo goyogakari. . .

<sup>44</sup> "Natives of other *Basho* have come to appreciate and have respect for Bakufu administration and a number of them have gradually changed their way of life to follow the pattern of Japan. However, those Ezo living within the territory of Chief Ikotoi of Akkeshi are quite determined not to change their customs and there is not one native there who follows Japanese ways." Yamazaki Hanzō, *Higashi Ezoichi Kikō*.

<sup>45</sup> The native's most courteous obeisance was accompanied by a clasping together of the hands as is stated in *Ainu Fūzoku Ryakuki* [Brief sketch of Ainu customs]: "In expressing their courtesy to the Japanese, they would kneel down, clasp their hands together and recite. . . ." For further details refer to Batchelor's *The Ainu and their legends*, 79 ff.

<sup>46</sup> See Ezojin ni heifuku seishimuru koto (Enforced obeisance of the Ezo), *EFI* 2 (7) and in *Ezo Shōshi* 2.

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 [576]

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taught the moral law should be left alone and treated like beasts. Measures should be undertaken gradually.<sup>67</sup>

Thus opinion blocked any hasty attempt to alter customs while for their part the Ezo also opposed such change stating that they would be "punished by ancestral gods"<sup>68</sup> and that, "the punishment of God would be unavoidable."<sup>69</sup> There were natives who attempted to flee to Matsumae or to the mountains and natives like those at Horoizumi *Basho* who, after being treated with sake and then having shaved their heads, were ostracized by their companions.<sup>70</sup>

The Bakufu thereupon took a more passive attitude towards this problem. When in January, 1789, one of their agents, without the approval of his superiors but on the request of the natives, helped the Nemuro Ezo to change their customs, the Bakufu ordered him to submit a detailed account.<sup>71</sup> Further, when in 1802 East Ezo became a permanent domain of the central government and the Hakodate Magistracy was established, the policy of forcing change was dropped and, when it was understood that the Ezo disliked agriculture, only the Japanese in the area were encouraged in that pursuit and the natives were excused from it.<sup>72</sup>

<sup>67</sup> Uchida Ginzō, "Arata ni hakken seraretaru Baba Masamichi no ichi icho ni tsuite" (On the newly found will of Baba Masamichi), *Kokumin Keizai Zasshi* 21 (2).

<sup>68</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>69</sup> *Ezo Shōshi* 2.

<sup>70</sup> "When I visited the island, I came to a place called Shiroy where a native by the name of Asakao brought me a horse on which I was to travel. Now this Ezo was a clever person and was able to understand Japanese to a certain extent. . . . I fell into a conversation with him and tried to learn something of his people. He lamented the fact that the Bakufu officials were too strict and that trade was conducted with little consideration for anything but rigid regulations. Among other matters, he mentioned that, although it might not be desirable for Ezo customs to differ from those of the Japanese, nevertheless the customs of his people had been handed down to them from the gods of their ancestors. Therefore, should his people attempt to alter their ways now, they would certainly be punished by their gods. Thus speaking, the native gave vent to a genuine fear of invoking divine wrath. . . ." Baba Masamichi, *Chōyōyoron*: "The Ezo were thus afraid of having to shave their heads and trembled at hearing that their customs were to be changed. When the land was placed directly under the Bakufu and the natives were ordered to shave their heads, there was not one Ezo willing to do so. It was said among them that as a last resort to avoid having their heads shaved, they could escape to Matsumae territory or take to the hills. All in all, the Ezo seemed to be quite worried. When a young man at Horoizumi agency was persuaded to shave his head and follow Japanese customs and was given rice and sake, his relations deplored it saying that to die of illness, though a sorrowful thing, cannot be avoided, but that he who shaves his head and alters his traditional appearance and who cannot associate with his fellows is sure to receive punishment from the gods. He will not be accepted in Ezo society and will, probably in desperation, turn evil." *Ezo Shōshi* 3.

<sup>71</sup> *Kyume Kōki*, Suppl. 5 Nemuro Basho Ijin Fūzoku Kaiko gi ni tsuki moshiage sōrō kakitsuke (Report on the changing of Ezo customs at Nemuro *Basho*).

<sup>72</sup> Written instruction to managers departing in the year Inu: The primary policy in Ezo is that of control of the island. As

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It is obvious that no satisfactory results came from this shifting policy. Even the situation on Etorofu Island, which was the showcase of native policy, was not good as can be seen from the entry for June 16, 1808, in *Ezo Nikki*;

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The Ezo used as the guide was not called Ezo but Aino since the Ezo thought it humiliating to be called by the former name. *Recently the natives have been pleased when they are called village people (murakata) although they are not aware of the meaning.* Furthermore, there are approximately twenty natives on Etorofu who have shaved their beards, changed their clothes and, in appear-

previously known, it is not an easy task to develop the island or to influence the natives to change their fashion in costumes or in other ways. And yet there seems to have been a tendency for those in charge of various *Basho* to win credit for themselves. Now, although it is the policy to have the Ezo themselves volunteer to change their customs, there is nothing further from Bakufu policy than to have them induced to so volunteer. We therefore instruct you to observe the following:

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1. In regard to farming—it is permissible for those going to Ezo from Japan to cultivate a suitable area within the *Basho* where they reside. However, cultivation of land outside the *Basho* is to be undertaken only after approval from higher authority. The Ezo shall not be encouraged to farm.

2. Those who go to Ezo from Japan shall not engage in fishing in any manner which interferes with the livelihood of the natives.

3. Needless to say, the customs of the Ezo are not to be interfered with for the time being. Efforts will be made, however, to maintain those industries already fostered among the Ezo. Instructions may already have been given by those in charge of Etorofu and Kunashiri but the following policy is applicable not only to those two islands but to all Ezo. That is, even in cases where the Ezo themselves request permission to change their ways, this request will not be granted on the spot but referred for approval to higher authority. Now on Etorofu a number of Ezo requested this change during the past year and these requests were granted. Therefore, it is feared that, if for this island a policy of passing these requests along for the approval of higher authority is adopted, suspicion may be aroused among the natives. Since Etorofu is of first importance and since the feelings of the people there ought not to be neglected, it is permitted there to accept the requests of the more sincere natives. Upon arrival at your post and after looking over the situation, this matter will be taken up again for discussion.

4. Since such work as erection of houses, building of ships, etc., is practically completed, you will refrain from undertaking any new construction and you will limit yourself to repair and maintenance. Furthermore, care will be exercised in purchasing goods outside your *Basho* in order to conserve your budget. At the same time it must be borne in mind that it is not the intention of the Bakufu to decrease relief work among the Ezo or to cut down on the allowances of managers and others. Therefore, give due consideration to public opinion that it may not be aroused against the Bakufu.

5. Take care to do nothing which will have any ill effect on the interests of Bakufu and do not carry our new ideas in a careless manner.

The above instructions will be conveyed to officials at each *Basho*. Since a Magistracy is to be established for the first time all officials will observe these instructions until that office starts functioning and all will be careful to observe traditions and govern with consideration having in mind that this will be a long-term administration.

March of the Year Imu

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ance, become Japanese. Assumed ages were given them, as well as names and they were, *although illiterate*, raised to the position of *Otona*. Natives of other islands call these people new *Shamo* which, in the Ezo tongue, meant Japanese.<sup>73</sup>

In Yamazaki Hanzō's *Higashi Ezo Kikō* we read:

The Ezo women (mostly mistresses of the guards) through the intervention of Kodama Kanai, tie their hair in Katsuyama fashion, were attired in beautiful costumes and in no way appeared like country women from out back. However, their tattooed faces made a shocking contrast to the way in which they were dressed.

So, although the natives preferred to be called Ainu instead of Ezo and enjoyed being termed "*murakata*," they had no idea of what these words meant. They changed their appearance but were nothing more than illiterate new *Shamo* and the women, although they dressed their hair in the Japanese style, could not obliterate the tattoos on their faces and hands. So once their hair was untied or the shaven head had again grown hair, they were back where they had started. Therefore, when the policy of induced change was abandoned after the Russian invasion of 1808, the Ezo immediately went back to their old life. According to the *Ansei Sannen Rokugatsu Etorofu Basho Hikiwatasu Shorui* [Documents Relative to the Transfer of Authority in Ezo Basho in June, 1856], there was only one woman who still retained the Japanese customs and she was an old woman who otherwise could not have obtained any government subsidy for her livelihood.

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#### 8. SUMMARY

With the assumption of direct administration in 1799, the policy of the Government toward the Hokkaidō Ainu became an important issue and, as a result of discussions, various policies were attempted. As order rapidly spread throughout Ezo accompanied by a well-managed administrative structure, an edifice of government became evident. While much of the new structure was the result of unifying and further developing the older systems, a new look was apparent. Ezo-land was divided into a number of administrative districts with an appointed *Sō Otona* supervising the other Ezo. The instructions of the Bakufu were passed on to the natives through the *Sō Otona* while those matters with which the Bakufu was not concerned were left for the natives themselves to settle. However, the Ezo were not left complete responsibility to settle such matters, for a basic law was enacted which was administered by officials with broad authority, so that in the governmental relationships of Ezo the natives played a subordinate part. The cultural policy undertaken before this period was a negative one, of preventing, as far as possible, assimilation and therefore the use of Japanese dress and language, and the practice of farming was discouraged. But 1799 marks the beginning of an official policy of assimilation. Instruction was given

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<sup>73</sup> Italics by Takakura.

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in the Japanese language and the natives were educated with the aim of "eventually turning them into Japanese" while farming methods were taught in order "to accustom them to the ways of the Japanese." Humane ways were preached and schooling given to "develop their culture gradually." To those natives who wished it, Japanese clothes were given, their heads were shaved, and permission was granted to follow the customs of Japan. Efforts were made to abolish such practices as polygamy. But this hasty policy of assimilation too often ignored the pride of the Ezo and, at least on the cultural side, it was dropped. This did not mean a return to a policy of non-assimilation but a more cautious and gradual carrying out of parts of the assimilation policy. The attitudes of the natives were respected. Trade was regularized and conducted in good faith in an effort to abolish the past evils of trade, while medical and other relief facilities were improved. These changes were inevitable because Ezo was changing from a commercial colony to an exploited area with a resultant need for government control, for the maintenance of native manpower and for convenient use of that labor power. The sudden adoption of this new policy was a result of the foreign situation developing around Hokkaidō at the turn of the nineteenth century—a situation which resulted in the assumption of direct control by the central government of Japan. There was every fear that Russian expansion included this area and that a prime Russian tactic was appeasement of the natives. But from the economic standpoint, these measures went too far. While it was undoubtedly necessary to establish a new administrative structure the attempt to assimilate the natives into the Japanese way of life while at the same time expanding the market for Japanese merchandise, increased the difficulties of using the natives as a labor force. The intelligence level of the native population was raised. The encouragement of agriculture gave the Ezo the means to furnish for themselves certain important goods such as tobacco, sake, and clothing hitherto imported from Japan. The Ezo manpower devoted to agriculture deprived the Japanese of native manpower for use in newly established Japanese industries. Above all, since the profit was realized not in the Ezo trade but in the Japanese market for Ezo goods, there was no need to expand the native market for Japanese goods. Actually this assimilation policy was a policy of national defense and it was not based on sound economics. For this reason of defense the Bakufu was most careful not to enforce assimilation and it trod so carefully in this matter that in 1802 it instructed its agents to call off the policy of encouraging agriculture and of changing native custom. The general effect of the policy change plus the improved fairness in trade led to an increase in native labor power available to Japanese industry on the island but uneven enforcement of this later policy

[P81(A)]

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made it most difficult to raise the general living standards of the Ezo.

It was out of sheer necessity that the central government took over the administration of Ezo and because of serious financial difficulties it could not afford to carry out desirable administrative and fiscal-economic policies there. The original estimate of expenditures had been 50,000 ryō for administration, 10,000 ryō for official salaries, and 5,000 koku land rent to the Matsumae per annum. By 1802 it was necessary to economize on these sums and the Hakodate Magistracy had its budget reduced to 25,000 ryō for administration, 10,000 ryō for salaries, and 3,500 koku for the Matsumae. Of the total amount, about 20,000 ryō was realized from Bakufu income in Ezo and the Hakodate Magistracy, in an attempt to cover the remaining sum, thought to establish a self-sufficient economy by buying rice for the island from the clans, reselling it, and using the profit to cover the deficit. Until this got underway, however, Hakodate had to depend on government subsidy. However, the Fiscal Agency of the central government decided to cover only the 5,000 ryō deficit in administrative expenses and to place the sum needed for official salaries and the Matsumae subsidy on a separate budget. In effect the major portion of the expense of governing Ezo had to be met out of the income of Ezo which is the very reason why the Ezo policy of the Bakufu, no matter how ideal in intent, suffered under severe restrictions placed on it by economic factors. Therefore, when tensions with Russia lessened and when it seemed apparent after the Russian invasions of 1806-1807 that Russia's colonial policy was not necessarily based on peaceful means and consequently the importance of appeasing the natives was reduced, it was but natural that the government shift its policy from one of appeasement to one of making a profit. This transformation is reflected in the abolition of the direct trade in East Ezo and the gradual relaxation of administrative controls in favor of economic benefits. In the end all policies were cast out except those which conformed with the economic principles of the central government. Obviously the concomitant expansion of industry and the increasing importance of exploiting the economy of Ezo changed the native picture.

It is not my intention to write that the various policies of the Bakufu were ineffectual. Through the efforts of the Bakufu, a native policy was established, Japanese sovereignty in Ezo was confirmed and an administration of a fair degree of order was erected. The evils of the preceding period were ended while the installations of that period were continued with a view to protecting the natives. The beneficial efforts of the Bakufu took deeper hold in those remote areas of East Ezo-Kunashiri, Etorofu, etc., where the Bakufu had concentrated its efforts, than in Western and Northern Ezo where the Bakufu faced greater difficulties.



826 The lad himself thought likewise, and I am sure the auto-suggestion thus brought about injured his health.

302 The hair of both men and women was cut off just  
826 above the shoulders at the sides, and at the back in the form of a quarter moon. When clipping the hair, as was, of course, sometimes necessary, the people were very careful not to allow an enemy to get hold of any of it. Should he obtain even a little, he might practise sympathetic magic by praying over it for evil to rest upon the original possessor. Or he might bury it and thus cause the man's body to grow weak and his life to fade away. I find an echo of this belief in what an Ainu once told me. It was this:

● 177 "In the days of the Tokugawa régime the people  
302 were ordered to cut their hair in Japanese style. Upon this order going forth, the chiefs of Yezo (now called Hokkaidō) held a great meeting at which it was decided to send a deputation to beg that the order might be rescinded. "For," said the people, "we could not go contrary to the customs of our ancestors without bringing down upon us the wrath of the gods." And, although a few of the Ainu living at Mori did cut their hair as commanded, the people as a whole were let off, much to their delight. It may be added in this place that, although there are still Ainu at Mori, they have become so Japonized in thought, customs and language, as well as in dress, that they are indistinguishable from the Japanese among whom they dwell.

302 But there are exceptions in which hair cutting was  
765 not only allowed but actually commanded. They were  
826 in cases of death where mourning for the dead was considered necessary and proper. One order about this was as follows. "Should a man lose his wife by death, let him immediately cut his hair and assume a general look of dejection. But he may not, as is done in the case of the women, wear a hood upon his head, because  
[776] he must worship the gods and mix with men. It is not befitting in a man to approach the gods having his



## CHAPTER VI

## THE VILLAGE COMMUNITY

"Before the tremendous shock of present-day civilization, with all its harassing worries, vexatious rules, unbending laws, burdensome taxes, and crowds of immigrants, came upon us," say the Ainu, "our fathers had an easy time of it, without care and anxiety, and lived in quiet contentment and general happiness. But now all is change and the struggle for existence is wiping us out!" Poor fellows, they feel it sadly, notwithstanding all the protection and sympathy they are now getting. 177 ● 178

According to ancient tradition, the Ainu people never had a monarchy. The elders of the race divided the government among the inhabitants of the separate villages, thus making each village community a small semi-independent state. And it seems to have worked well. The elders of each village assembled, I was told, and chose a chief and two sub-chiefs to manage the general affairs of the people, the women also being in attendance when such were being chosen. The principal chief, or, in the case of his absence, one of the sub-chiefs, was present at funerals to assist in burying the dead, or at marriages to signify his consent and cheer the young couple with his good wishes, or to assist in dividing up the meat or fish brought in by the hunters and fishermen. 621 622 [585 764]

The chiefs, together with the people, including the women, made the laws and sat in judgment upon the law-breakers. There were no law codes or clearly defined prescriptive rights, for the Ainu had no script. 627 692 [771]

304 Women. Oh, Sir, I'm ashamed of them. They mark  
563 me off from the Japanese as a being apart from  
themselves and they look down on me as something  
inferior.

Self. What makes you think the Japanese look down  
on you for being tattooed?

Woman. They do. I feel it. They speak to me in  
the lowest of coolie language. They seem to treat  
untattooed people better than they do those tat-  
tooed. Please take it out for me if you can.

Self. But why did you have it done?

Woman. I didn't, Sir. My mother did it all, and it  
was begun when I was very small and continued  
till I grew up.

Self. Oh, I see. I am very sorry, but I have already  
asked a good city doctor about it, and he tells me  
that it has been cut too deeply into the skin, and  
as the colouring is indelible it cannot be removed.

304 The poor woman was greatly distressed and left  
my room weeping bitterly. She wanted to raise her-  
self to the level of her Japanese sisters, but the tattoo  
marks kept her back. And even when I told her that,  
did she show herself worthy, the tattoo would be no  
greater stumbling block to her than the blackened  
teeth of old-time Japanese women were in their case,  
she would not be comforted. Yet notwithstanding all  
this, strange as it may appear, even now, when having  
a dance or friendly meeting among themselves, the  
young women at times don their ornaments and paint  
each other with Indian ink; but as soon as the fun is  
over they go and carefully wash it all off again and  
return to normal. We have often seen this done in  
the back quarters of our home in Sapporo.

304 Right from the very beginning, I tried to get the  
177 women to leave off this custom, but I soon found my-

WOMEN AND THEIR TATTOOING

47

self up against a very difficult problem, and had to go along with great caution. Later on, when the women brought their babies to me to name, I used to say, "Do you want your child to be brought up like a Japanese girl or an Ainu maiden? If she is to be tattooed like an Ainu and so kept out of sisterhood with the Japanese, I will give her an Ainu name, but if you prefer to have her like her Japanese sisters she shall have a Japanese name and not be tattooed." This worked the miracle and soon they began freely to ask for Japanese names, and thenceforth the tattooing became far less frequent and has now ceased altogether. 304 177

I suppose one will never get to know the real origin of the custom. Sitting by the Ainu hearth, I have heard the matter discussed. But not with much satisfaction. Thus I heard one person say to her companion, "Our grandmothers tattooed themselves because the old pit dwellers of Hokkaidō were so ornamented. Our people thought it so beautiful that they imitated them." "No, not so," said the other, "but when our ancestors fought with those pit dwellers, they took a lot of the women prisoners and tattooed them as their wives were, so as to know them again if they ran away." And so the controversy went on. But leaving further stories till later, I will now show how the tattooing is done. 304

Some birch or ash bark is taken from a tree and put into a pan where it is well soaked. After this a fire is made under a pot into which all has been put, and it is well boiled. When done, more bark is brought and burnt under the pot till the bottom is well blackened. When this has been thoroughly done, a woman takes a small sharp knife, cuts a few gashes into the part to be tattooed, then takes some of the soot from under the pot on her finger and rubs it well in. She next takes a piece of cloth, dips it into the decoction in the pot, and with it washes the part operated on. The centre of the upper lip receives the

WOMEN AND THEIR TATTOOING

49

obtain from the younger generation. She told me she <sup>304</sup> was ninety years of age, which I could well believe. I <sup>888</sup> was seeking information about tattooing. So I said <sup>[115]</sup> to her.

*Self.* Your mother tattooed you very cleverly. I have never seen it better done. (This seemed to please her).

*Woman.* Ah, yes. My people took a pride in this when I was a child. But now, alas, the customs have changed.

*Self.* Yes, indeed. Let me see now, what was this tattooing called when you were very small. What did your grandmother, for instance, call it?

*Woman.* Ah, yes. Its old name was *suchi-piri*, and this means "Blackstone wounds."

I was delighted to get this word, for I had never heard it before. It carried my thoughts right back to the time when the Ainu used obsidian knives. And this linked them up with the stone age. It was a ringing echo from the past. I spent a very profitable hour with this old lady and she told me she had also some tattooing done on her back, but this was done in order <sup>[757]</sup> to take away some pain she had there. She could tell me nothing about the origin of the custom.

I used to try my very best to get the Ainu mothers <sup>304</sup> to promise not to tattoo their girls, but to bring them up as the Japanese mothers did theirs. But it was in <sup>[77]</sup> vain. Old customs die hard. And, they said, "When Aeoine the divine and his sister came down from heaven, the latter was tattooed, and before her departure hence she introduced the custom among the Ainu women." When some of the children or younger women began to rebel against the custom, both men and women intimidated them. The women said, "The divine sister of Aeoine taught us that if any woman marries a man without first being tattooed in a proper

262 shelled them and presented them to me nicely baked.  
 252 And they were very good eating in that land of scarcity. On asking her why she crashed them, she told me it was to prevent them from bursting.

231 The food question being a somewhat important  
 177 one, I had a talk with the chief and asked him if we could not manage to put up a small chicken house and keep a few hens. He readily agreed to the proposal, so in a couple of days or so we had a lodge built of sticks and reeds all ready. We then went down to a Japanese village at the seashore and bought two birds, which we put into the little place. All went well for the first five days and I had an egg daily. But after that, although the hen cackled every day as usual, we could find no egg, and I was greatly disappointed. This went on for several days and I made up my mind to sit in the shed and so try to solve the problem. As I sat watching, behold, on the very first morning what should happen but, as soon as ever the hen began her song, a big grey snake, some five feet long, thrust his head in from the outside right over the nest. I shouted and this made him withdraw his vicious snout sharply. I got the egg that time. The next morning I waited very quietly outside at the back and when the creature wormed his way up among the reeds and popped his head in, I gave him a whack on his back and killed him. I won also that time and got my egg. After that we had no more trouble. That year I killed no less than thirty-six snakes and vipers. On entering the hut, Penri volunteered the following information. "After a snake has swallowed an egg, he, the demon, glides off to a tree stump, winds himself round it, gives a tight squeeze and smashes it. They are very cunning demons."

117 Some little time after slaying my egg thief, I was startled one morning by catching sight of another large snake gliding along the rafters and in and out of the reed thatch inside the hut. Undoubtedly he

522 *Inn-keeper.* What are you doing with it?

*Ainu.* Skinning it for supper.

*Inn-keeper.* How is it you have only got half a hare?

*Ainu.* My master shot it.

*Inn-keeper.* But how only half?

*Ainu.* He aimed with his gun, pulled the trigger, there was a loud "bang" and I went and picked this up.

*Inn-keeper.* But how came you to get only half?

*Ainu.* Well, it happened thus. Hares, as you know, are among the fleetest animals in the world, and this one was the swiftest of the swift. My master, too, is a splendid shot. Among men of the gun he takes the deadliest aim.

*Inn-keeper.* Oh, how so?

*Ainu.* Thus: you see there were two very clever people, the hare and my master. One was a clever shot and the other was clever at running. It was impossible that the hare should not run away. So, as you see, half got away. Indeed, though I have only two of its legs here it got away on four!

*Inn-keeper.* What a liar!

This was too much for the inn-keeper. Had he only been a little more patient, he would have been told that the other two legs ran away on four, but inside the fox or wolf. But my man was too much for him so that he could only give a supercilious smile, turn on his heel and go off saying "*Chikushō*"! (beast). Parapita and I had a good laugh afterwards, and we found the hare, too, very good eating.

177  
797 I never got it quite all my own way when preaching to these people, and always had to be wide awake in the old days when doing so, whether in a church or in a hut. One day I was addressing a congregation and used a camel as an illustration. What I said about this animal appealed to the audience at once. There

## A CALL TO THE MOUNTAIN

198

seemed to be more wonders connected with the anatomy and powers of endurance of these creatures than some of them cared to believe at first. The wonderful adaptation of their feet for walking in the sandy deserts, the hardness of the tongue and mouth, owing to which they are able to eat hard and prickly food; the means by which they can store and carry water inside of them for long journeys, the use of the hump in repairing the waste of tissue; all these and other things I told them seemed to be too wonderful for the brains of these docile Ainu! One person was like that Indian Prince who, having seen no ice in his native land, would not believe that there was such a thing as water becoming hard. This man said to me in a nice quiet yet insinuating voice, "And Sir, was this animal not so constructed that he could carry a drop of *saké* inside, too?" This was in church, nevertheless it made the congregation roar with laughter. I at once replied, for it would never have done to allow the laugh to rest on me, "Friend, I am not talking about an Ainu, but about a camel. If you had a camel, and you thought he had some *saké* inside him, that *saké* would very soon change stomachs and there would be a poor dead camel to skin and bury." He got the laugh on himself this time and so the incident ended.

On another occasion I took upon me the responsibility of quoting Aesop's well known fable of "The fox and the grapes." Thus:

"A famished fox saw some clusters of ripe black grapes hanging from a trellised vine. She resorted to all her tricks to get at them. At last she turned away, beguiling herself of disappointment and saying, "The grapes are sour, and not ripe as I thought!"

To this an Ainu retorted, "I know, Sir, that's a lie. Foxes can't talk." This surprised me, but I quickly replied, "Friend, the Reynard I am speaking about was a Greek fox, not an Ainu one, and the great and learned Mr. Aesop is my authority!" This was quite



● 177  
177

sufficient and so the lecture ended, and all went away happy.

117

But sometimes the people, some of them at least, used to strike me as being a little stupid. The following incidents will show, in part, why I came to that conclusion.

As I was expecting letters, I said to the chief one evening, "I want you to get up at dawn tomorrow morning and go down to the coast post-office and ask if there are any letters for me. It is only a matter of fifteen miles, so you ought to be back again sometime in the evening." He went. Very late at night he returned. I heard him enter the hut and called from my sleeping place to know if there were any for me. "Yes," he replied, "several." "All right. Blow up the fire. I will be with you in a minute," I said. Well, I got up expecting to receive what he had brought. "Where are they?" I inquired. "I haven't got them," he replied. "But how is that?" I asked. His reply was, "You did not tell me to bring them, but to inquire as to whether there were any. And there are." I said no more but trotted off to bed again and thought. I became like Br'er Rabbit, of whom it is said, "He lay low, and he say nuffin." I was busy learning lessons in those days. And still am.

Our old Ainu servant died a few years ago and we afterwards sent his wife away. Another woman came to be taught, by her special request, but we found she was such a wonderful forgetter that we could not keep her long. One day I asked her to run out and put a letter I wanted to get off quickly into a pillar-box near at hand. A few hours later I found this same letter had been posted in our very own letter-box at the front door! The fact is, we had caught her wild and she had evidently not yet learned about pillar-boxes.

161 In considering the causes of this decrease, there  
628 are found to be several reasons which may be cited. From the oldest times there have been many bloody battles fought with the Japanese. The warfare was continuous throughout the ages, as has been shown in a previous chapter. Then there were misunderstandings causing internecine strife with pitched battles. And so the people have naturally been bleeding to death. This clan antagonism has not yet quite died out, but has now become a very weak factor among them. Forty-five years ago, it was so strong that I was once refused hospitality in one district because I had come from another. I was speaking Ainu only and my dialect betrayed me. However, on my second visit some years later, all was well and I met with no trouble.

- 177 Then, there are now two and a half millions of
- 161 Japanese here against about 15,000 Ainu. The former are pushing the people greatly, for the Ainu cannot compete with them. Next, they have had to come so suddenly from a meat and fish diet to a vegetarian one. This has told on their constitutions. There is too much blood-relationship among them, through intermarriage between people of their own village or district only. This has had a dire effect on them mentally. They have known nothing of medicine in general, and hygienic rules are nil. There has been a good deal of child mortality among them, and many of the women are sterile. Many people die of consumption. Their smoky dwellings are not fitted for the preservation of health. It is sad to see them becoming extinct, but it is inevitable. (In them I think the Japanese are losing a great asset to the Empire.) The numbers are now being kept up, as they have been for some time past, by adopting Japanese children and registering them as Ainu. And marriage with the Japanese themselves is taking not a few. There is an ever-increasing number now of half-breeds, and among those called

## CHIEF PENRI'S MOTHER DIES

159

Stakes are driven round the inside to which mats are hung. The earth is then thrown in and some branches covered over it. A tub of water is always carried to the grave with which those who have taken part in the ceremony wash their hands. The bottom is afterward knocked out of the tub and thrown on the mound. The people all return to the house of the deceased when all is over, and continue the feast they began before they went off to the burying-place. When arrived there and before entering the hut they again wash their hands [783] as a purification and are brushed down with grass by way of exorcism. 764

The people are very careful to have the burial ceremony correctly performed, for they fear, for one thing, that, if due care is not taken, the deceased will not have a good reception when he reaches the place his ancestors have gone to; and then, secondly, that the dead one will take vengeance upon those who have shown disrespect in this matter. A man speaking with me on this point said, "The spirits of the dead can return to people after their departure hence. They have power to come in dreams and plague the living in their sleep. They can also inflict sickness and do harm in other ways."

Some years ago a Christian woman died and was buried in a coffin and with Christian rites. She was even carried into a church. We thought that all was right and proper, but some of the older people did not like it. The change was too radical for them. They therefore made up a story to the effect that this young lady was unable to join her ancestors, and that her ghost was to be seen nightly wandering about her village, seeking for someone to go through all the rites again after the proper Ainu fashion, but, of course, without the body. This, in time and with the help of the shamans, took such a great effect on the relations that the wake was held over again, followed by a visit to the grave. Her ghost was not seen again after that. 177 764

778 will recover from sickness, become strong and have a  
 755 long life; and the more they flourish the happier the people are. The pleasure is indescribable if a fetish made for a baby happens to grow, for that means extraordinary good health, great strength and a long and prosperous life, or else that the child will become a mighty leader of the people or a wonderful hunter. One young fellow told me in later life that when young he used to keep his willow tree well watered so as to be always green, and that he himself might be ever in good health. He thoroughly believed in the efficacy of his "birth tree." But, I am sorry to say, he died at the age of about thirty. He was a good man and a great help to me in collecting folk-lore. Indeed, without him and Chief Penri and one or two others, I do not think these chapters could ever have been written. I have been very fortunate in my Ainu friends.

778 The fetish clusters spoken of above are only named *mass* when taken as a whole; when spoken of singly, the wands are named *masu*. They are particularly striking when seen new in the winter or early spring, for then they glisten brightly in the sunshine over the snow. Some of them are shaved upward toward the top and others downward toward the base, while some again are not pilled at all. It all depends upon why they are set up and to what god or demon they are presented.

226 But it must not be supposed that the *mass* are set up only near the houses in which the people live. A traveller may often see them upon the seashore where the fishermen push off their boats when they go fishing. These are set up to the gods of the sea and as offerings to various kinds of fish and marine animals.

• 177 The young man who gave me much of the fetish  
 778 lore I possess, and whom I mentioned as having watered his birth tree, was a most god-fearing fellow. He told me that he had never heard of a man among his people who had no gods to whom he prayed. When he him-

## THE BIRTH TREE AND CHILD-BIRTH

187

self became a Christian, he said that he gave up making fetishes, and this so astonished his people that they came and walked round his house outside to see what he had instead of the *musa*, and went inside to see what gods he had in place of the *inu*. When they could find nothing, all they could say was that he was an *inu-sak-gwu*, i.e. "a man without fetishes," that he was an atheist and so had cut himself off from his people and their gods.



MUSA OR INAU CLUSTERS

One day a man came to our house in Sapporo and asked if I would kindly let him have a good look at my God! I was greatly astonished at this request, and told him that such a thing was an absolute impossibility, because my God is spirit and can not be seen with material eyes. "Oh, no, He isn't," he said, "for I have already seen Him, only I want to have a closer look at him." I could not make out what he was driving at, so I said, "Where have you seen Him? Show me." "Why, there," he replied, pointing just outside my study to the top of the stairs, "up there." I was much amused, for there on the landing I had set up a very old black suit of Japanese armour,—the ugliest thing I have ever come across. I took him up to look at it

593 approach the gods when their help is required. The  
 551 wives should therefore treat them with great respect, and should hold them in high esteem. They may not heedlessly mention their names, for they are in truth their strong superiors and supports. They stand between them and the gods. This teaching came down from the divine Aeoia and is strictly to be obeyed. If, therefore, any woman dishonours her husband by mentioning his name, let her know that it is not only disrespectful to him, but a great dishonour to the gods also. It is blasphemy. Let all take heed to this command." But I would ask the reader to remember that I am writing of matters as I found them many years ago. The difficulties heretofore mentioned have now almost passed away, and most of the children receive Japanese names. All have surnames, which has simplified matters considerably.

551 It was but yesterday that I heard our Ainu maid servant call herself "otter head." It was because she had forgotten something we asked her to do. The name carried me back in thought some 40 years to the time I first heard it and was told the allusion. I thought the designation was defunct, but, behold, there it was as full of life and meaning as ever. The otter is supposed to have an exceedingly bad memory, and part of the lore concerning this runs as follows:

539 "The river otter was sent down by the Creator to  
 825 make clothing for the foxes. He was told that it was to be red. But he had such a bad memory that he quite forgot what colour it should have been and so painted them white! Hence foxes were, when first seen by the Ainu, all white and not red, as most of them now are. Mr. Fox was exceedingly angry at this piece of carelessness and severely scolded the otter for his neglect of duty. White was too imposing a colour to suit his taste. In order, therefore, to remedy the mistake, Mr. Otter went to a stream, and, after catching a salmon, took out its roe. He then asked Mr. Reynard to lie

## WITCHCRAFT AND OPHIOLATRY

205

of her hand and placed a live cinder in it. I then told him to stop it, but it was too late; the cinder was already there. The shaman then said, 'If this woman's denial is true and it was not she who cut the clothes, her hand will not be burnt. Watch. But if she did in truth cut it and in this way has wickedly bewitched this man, the cinder will undoubtedly burn her. Let all watch.' 754

"Then the woman's hand was indeed burnt and she suffered great pain. The shaman, seeing this, immediately called out, 'See here; it is so! She is burnt. Those who do evil are always so affected.'

"All this led to a law suit against the shaman and he was reprimanded by the Japanese judge, imprisoned for one night, and then discharged and cautioned against such practices. When asked by what gods he did such divining, he brought out from his bosom, where he had hidden them, two skulls, one of a fox and the other of an albatross." 177 754

Such is my friend's account.

The shaman, as now mentioned, had two skulls with him, one of a fox and the other of an albatross. These were for his use in divination. That of the fox will be mentioned when writing on shamanism and will not be further referred to here. The use of the albatross is quite interesting. It was very extensively taken as medicine when I first visited the Ainu. It was used against stomach-ache. The bill and head were scraped and the shavings swallowed down in hot water. The smell of this stuff is very strong and disagreeable and it is thought that it is the smell itself which works the wonder. And one can hardly be surprised at it. The following legend on the matter will explain.

"The albatross is an object of worship, and the origin of prayer being said to him is as follows: Once upon a time a dreadful disease broke out among the Ainu and many of the people died. At that time there lived an honourable man whose name was Toikirange. 539



## CHAPTER LIII

### ABOUT AINU HEROES

One day, after having been away on furlough for a few months, I returned to Piratori without first sending word to the chief that I was coming. Upon arrival, I was surprised to find my little room (six feet by nine) occupied by a small earthenware idol, standing about two feet high, and very ugly. It was made to resemble a Japanese warrior and was dressed *cap-a-pie* in full armour. It had the regulation two swords stuck into its girdle, and sat prepared for any emergency.

As soon as we had finished our somewhat lengthy salutations, the chief apologized for having put the image into my room, and Mrs. Penri hastened to carry it off and stow it away in her godown with the millet and vegetables. I found out afterwards that when my visits were over and I went elsewhere, the idol came out and was installed in my room for the convenience of such Japanese as might be passing through the village, but when I returned, it always found its home in the storehouse.

Knowing that the Ainu never made images of human beings for worship, I asked the chief how it came to pass he had this one in the village. This is his reply. "It is altogether a Japanese affair, made by Japanese and set up by them. The idol itself is about a hundred and twenty years old. It was brought to Piratori and set up in a tiny shrine on a point of the mountain close to our river. One day while you were away, a big storm of wind blew and sent the shrine,

- 177 with the idol, into the river. I went and rescued it  
778 and am now keeping it till the Japanese make another  
shrine for it and set it up elsewhere. The image is  
supposed to represent one whom the Japanese call  
Yoshitsune, who came to Piratori, as some think, to  
escape the sword of his brother, many years ago.  
Please pardon me for putting him in your room when  
you are away."

It is supposed by some that Yoshitsune (a historical Japanese warrior of the twelfth century) fled from the Main Island of Japan and came to Hokkaidō, where he was lost sight of. But it is really very doubtful whether he ever came to this island. In fact, the most learned students and authorities in Japanese history will have it that he was beheaded at Hiraizumi, near Sendai, and the Ainu themselves are very doubtful, and can afford no reliable proof of his presence here. However, the large shrine which has been set up at Piratori is a purely Japanese affair, built in my time. It has its Japanese priest; the people, Ainu and Japanese, are assessed for its upkeep, and the school children all have to go to the shrine for worship on festivals and high-days. Thus Yoshitsune has become the tutelary god of Piratori, and one more deity has been added to the Japanese pantheon.

- 776 The Ainu have handed down to posterity the names of very few heroes. Aeoia, "the Teacher," who has been frequently mentioned in these pages, takes the lead. After him comes one called Ponyaumbe, sometimes called Yairespo, "The solitary One," and then one other whom they called Samatuye. But very little is said of any of them. The very latest man of note in Hokkaidō was named Shagushain Ainu. He had a sort of fort at Shipichara (Shimogehe) on a hill by the river. In the year 1669 (the 9th year of Kambun)

101 hear of the Yezo Ainos, the Tsulshikari Ainos, and even of the Kurile Ainos. In this communication the name Aino is applied only to those people who are natives of Yezo. The Tsulshikari Ainos who recently came from Saghalien, and who are undoubtedly the same people but with slight differences in language and custom, will be invariably distinguished by the full name. The so-called Kurile Ainos are wrongly named. This name is given to the pit-dwellers of Shikotan, who are quite distinct from the Ainos. Mr. John Batchelor, of the Church Missionary Society, who has lived among the Ainos of southern Yezo for a number of years, and who has recently published a grammar of the Aino language and is about to publish a dictionary also, contends that the proper name for the people is Ainu. The best account of the Ainos of Saghalien is to be found in the very valuable work of Dr. L. Schrenck, "Reisen und Forschungen in Amurlande," vol. III. It has been said that the word was derived from the Japanese *inu*, meaning dog. This is what the Japanese assert, and they say that the Ainos are such an inferior race of people that they were called *doga*. But Mr. Batchelor points out that the Japanese\* more frequently derive the word from *ai-no-ko*, children of the middle. According to this author the word is not of Japanese origin, but, in the language of the people, means "men," descendants of Aiolna. Aiolna is the name of the first ancestor of the Ainos, who is worshiped as such by the people, but in English and also in German writings they have long been known as Ainos, and it seems unnecessary to make a change at this late day.

622 Formerly, it is said, the Ainos were subject to a powerful and wealthy chief, who lived at Piratori and received tribute from all the Ainos in the land. This is related by the Ainos themselves. However this may have been in the past, no traces of allegiance to a single ruler now remain. Each village has its own chief and a number of officers who assist him in preserving order and punishing wrong-doers. The chieftainship is hereditary in the family. It has recently been shown 172 by the researches of Milne, Morse, Chamberlain, and others that Japan proper was once inhabited by a race of people different from the present Japanese, and from a comparison of the remains found in shell-heaps and kitchen-middens in many parts of Japan, even as far south as Kinshiu, with similar remains found in Yezo, it is thought that the Ainos once inhabited Japan. The evidence upon this subject seems at first sight rather conflicting, but on the whole it is tolerably conclusive. It is convincing if we consider only the probable, indeed the almost positive, Aino origin of geographical place-names in every part of the archipelago. 174 177 It is apparently weak if we consider only the very remote relations to be observed between the languages, mythologies, and

\* Transasiatic Society Japan, XVI, 18.

† The Language, Mythology, and Geographical nomenclature of Japan viewed in the light of Aino Studies. Prof. B. H. Chamberlain.

## THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

433

customs of the present Ainos and Japanese. But on the other hand, if we seek to discover Japanese influences changing the habits and improving the condition of those Ainos who have lived in close contiguity with Japanese in Yezo for the last hundred years, we must confess that the signs of it are scarcely noticeable. The Aino in close contact with Japanese civilization remains, intellectually and otherwise, as much a savage in culture to-day as he ever could have been. It is true that some Japanese tales have found their way into Aino folk-lore, and a Japanese hero, Yoshitune, is reputed to have taught them useful arts. They number among their household treasures old Japanese swords and curios, which have been handed down from past generations. They now use Japanese knives instead of stone implements and metal arrow-heads in place of flint. But it is scarcely a century since they emerged from the stone age, and otherwise they have not passed beyond it.

We have here a remarkable instance of the close association of two distinct races, one superior and powerful, the other degraded and weak, working together day by day, living in contiguous villages, intermarrying more or less, and yet, after a century of such intimacy, as distinct in their character, habits of life, superstitious and beliefs as though they had never come together. The Aino has not so much as learned to make a reputable bow and arrow, although in the past he has had to meet the Japanese, who are famous archers, in many battles. It is a most remarkable example of the persistence of distinct types together, when the conditions are apparently favorable for the absorption of one by the other. The Ainos, being unable to affiliate more closely with the Japanese, remain distinct and apart, and are therefore doomed to extinction from the face of the earth.

As regards the evidence of place-names of Aino origin in Japan, reference to Professor Chamberlain's valuable monograph shows that they are very widely distributed, even so far south as Kiushiu. Only a few examples will be quoted here to indicate the character of the evidence, the full strength of which can be brought out only by careful philological studies, such as the author named above has most ably carried out. Japanese geographical names are written with Chinese characters, which even the learned can not pronounce correctly without the aid of a geographical dictionary. These characters have meanings which may or may not throw light upon the origin of the name. For example, Otaru is an Aino place-name, meaning "sandy road." The reading of the Chinese characters is "small cask." Many examples of this kind show that the meaning of the Chinese characters may be very misleading. In the following list will be found a number of names illustrating the very absurd meanings in Japanese, and the Aino derivations proposed by Professor Chamberlain.



## THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

443

food and raiment, the wigwam is close and smoky, the fruits of the earth are nuts, and acorns, and roots, and grubs dug out of the ground. To know how miserably a savage lives, one must see him in his house.

A century ago the Ainos were living in the age of stone. They are beyond it now only because they have obtained knives from the Japanese. The stone arrow-heads, which one may pick up almost anywhere, even in the plowed fields of Hakodate, have given way to heads of bamboo or iron. At Yeterof I purchased a stone implement for cutting, which could not have been very old. They have no writings, no records of their past, no aspirations. Their language is still a puzzle, their traditions and myths are scarcely known except to a few students. They are incapable of advancement. After a century of contact with the Japanese, they have learned no arts, adopted no improvements. The hunter to day shoots the bear with poisoned arrow from a bow as primitive as early man himself, although the Japanese are famous for their archery and weapons.

## PHYSICAL CHARACTERS OF THE AINOS.

The appearance and general characteristics of the Ainos have already been described. It is, therefore, only necessary to allude particularly to certain conspicuous features, mainly to their hairy nature. For a good series of physical measurements the reader is referred to those of Dr. Scheube,\* and especially to a very valuable contribution by Prof. W. Donitz.† The last-named author concludes that on the whole the results of his observations indicate that the Ainos belong to the Mongolian stock. This conclusion is not sustained by all observers. Dr. Scheube, for example, concludes from the results of measurements of Aino skulls, and from other characters, that they do not belong to the Mongolian type. Their great hairiness, the position of the eyes, the conformation of the nose, the great breadth of the face, etc., are all characters which distinguish them from Mongols.

The most conspicuous feature of the Ainos is their remarkable hairiness. The testimony of travelers concerning this matter is conflicting, but we may explain this on the supposition that the observers have not always recognized the typical Aino. Mr. Batchelor says: "I have seen one old man so completely covered with hair that his body could hardly be seen." This was an exceptional case, but my own observations have fully substantiated the results of those writers who have carefully investigated the physical characters of these people. Dr. Scheube relates that he has seen men with hair on the breast 10 centimetres in length, and on the back 5 centimetres and over. This subject has been examined by Dr. Hilgendorf,‡ who, in 1875, made a series of

\* Scheube, B. *Die Ainos*. Mittheilungen der Deutschen Gesellschaft für Natur- und Völkerkunde Ostasien, III (1882), 220-245.

† Donitz, Prof. W. *Bemerkungen ueber Ainos*, *loc. cit.*, Dec., 1874, 61-67.

‡ Mitth. Deutschen Gesellsch. für Natur- u. Völkerkunde. June, 1875, pp. 11-13.

## THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

451

## CLOTHING.

The Ainos weave a very durable, coarse kind of cloth from the fibrous bark of the mountain elm, *Ulmus montana*, known as the *ohiyo*. Mr. Blackiston has pointed out that the species *Ulmus campestris* (Japanese *akadamo*) is also used. 286

The principal garment is a coat made of this material. It is patterned after one form of the Japanese coat. The shape is well shown in Plate XCVI, which represents the back of an embroidered coat made of the *ohiyo*, with strips of blue Japanese cotton cloth sewed on, and a running design of white braid, also produced in Japan. Such elaborate decoration is only applied to the best garments, those for common wear being quite plain. Japanese cotton goods are replacing the *ohiyo*. Already the native cloth is far less common than it has been, and while I was in Yezo I found it by no means abundant. The native looms will soon be out of use, for cotton goods, although less durable than the *ohiyo*, are warmer and softer. A narrow belt is worn around the waist. The women usually wear an under-garment of cotton, and occasionally an apron. 291 [177] [531] [439]

Leggins are worn by both sexes. These are very simply made, but are also often decorated with braid.

Sandals are worn in the summer (Pl. XCVII). These are said to be made of *kurumi no kane*, walnut bark. The winter clothing is made of the skins of animals. For traveling in the snow there are shoes made of fish skin, and wide snowshoes consisting of wooden frames with thongs of bear-skin, both of which are represented in this plate. 237 [431]

## DWELLINGS.

The typical Aino house is a square or rectangular main structure, usually entered through a low gable-roofed passage-way. The framework is made of rough beams put together in the manner shown in Fig. 71, which is a drawing made from a photograph taken at Tokoro. The houses are thatched with reeds, usually the *Imperata arundinacea* Cyrill, held down by poles. Such a house is shown in Plate XCVIII; at Shari. There is a small opening just below the apex of the roof in front, through which the smoke escapes, and in cold weather this is the only outlet for the smoke. A sliding board-shutter in the middle affords ventilation through the roof, but this is closed in the winter. Houses of this kind are common in the north, where the winters are very cold. Farther south there is no opening through the roof, and the smoke passes out through a large triangular opening in front beneath the ridge-pole. To prevent wind and rain from beating in, a rectangular sort of chimney is built in front of the aperture. A similar house, also at Shari, is shown in Plate XCIX. A similar house at Bekkai or Bitskai, near Nemuro, is shown in Plates C and CI, which are two views of the same house. This house is thatched with straw. In Plate CII, back of 342

342 Scheube, Batchelor, and others. I am inclined to regard this as purely a matter of convenience or habit. Mr. Batchelor should be able to tell us whether the Ainu consider the points of the compass in these matters. I would only point out that what he and others have told us concerning the dwellings of the Ainu in the south, does not hold for those living on the northeast coast.

[114]

The houses represented in Plates XXVIII to CIII are typical Ainu houses. This statement is made with entire confidence, as the result of extended travel through the country. On some parts of the island the thatch is put on with more care, as at Uragawa, for example, where the reeds are in overlapping layers, or, as Dr. Scheube says of the houses near Horobetsu, the only region of importance for Ainu studies that I did not visit, of reeds laid on in a terrace-like manner.

The house figured by Dr. Scheube is by no means a usual form, although probably it does prevail in that part of the island where he visited the Ainu, around Volcano Bay, for he says: "The houses only differ one from another in size." Of these houses Dr. Scheube says that their length runs east and west. With exception of the west side, there is a window on each side, which may be closed with a reed mat. I am not prepared to maintain that the Ainu have no regard to the points of the compass in setting up the sacred relics, symbols, *inao*, etc., in particular parts of their houses, but I doubt very much if they do have. As already stated, Dr. Scheube and other writers tell us that the household treasures are kept in the northeast corner. But so far as I have been able to discover, no writer has given a reason for these customs, although they all leave one to infer that they are general and invariable.

## STOREHOUSES.

343 The Ainu storehouses are very much alike throughout the island. They are shown in Plates XXVIII, CI and CII and require no particular description. They are raised on posts about 6 feet above the ground to be secure from the attacks of wild animals. They are filled with dried fish, vegetables, and other articles of food.

## HOUSEHOLD UTENSILS AND FOOD.

445 Doubtless there was a time, not very long ago, when the Ainu ate with their fingers and had no better dishes for their food than such as they still make of bark. Fig. 72 represents a large dish made of bark, such as are in common use. The one numbered 150673 is 14 inches in length by 13 inches wide, and is used for fish. But precisely the same kind of dishes are made much smaller—not more than 4 inches long. The common water-bucket and dipper are also made of bark, as shown in Fig. 73 [150668]. They have since learned to use Japanese knives, however, and they make a variety of wooden plates, which they decorate with characteristic carved patterns (Fig. 74). Wooden spoons

[177]



## THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

457

Rice being an article easily obtained from the Japanese, the Ainos <sup>445</sup>  
make oblong rice bowls by dig- <sup>322</sup>  
ging out thick pieces of wood. <sup>412</sup>  
These differ somewhat in form in  
different parts of the island.  
(See Fig. 69, p. 441.)

For preparing grain, such as  
millet, which is cultivated here  
and there, they have a wooden  
mortar and pestle, the former  
standing perhaps 2 feet high,  
and made of a solid block of wood.

In every Aino house there may  
be found some treasured articles  
made by the Japanese. Some-  
times these articles are very old,  
having been handed down from  
father to son, and they are then  
valued as precious relics. Of  
these, Japanese swords are most  
highly prized, after which come  
lacquered cups (Fig. 77), which  
they use for drinking. The lat-  
ter, together with other small  
articles, are kept in Japanese  
round, lacquered cases, one or  
more of which are to be seen in  
every house.

A considerable variety of ani-  
mal food is to be obtained in  
Yezo, for the Ainos are good  
hunters with their rude bows and  
arrows.

The bear is much sought after  
for its flesh, as well as for its  
skin, which is used for clothing;  
and set-bows are arranged in  
the woods with poisoned arrows,  
which are released when a bear  
comes in contact with a cord in  
his path. The fox and wolf also  
abound, the former being caught  
in an ingenious bow-trap. At  
some seasons fresh fish abound,  
and they dry and half smoke  
great quantities of it for winter  
use. In the National Museum there is a specimen of salmon cut into

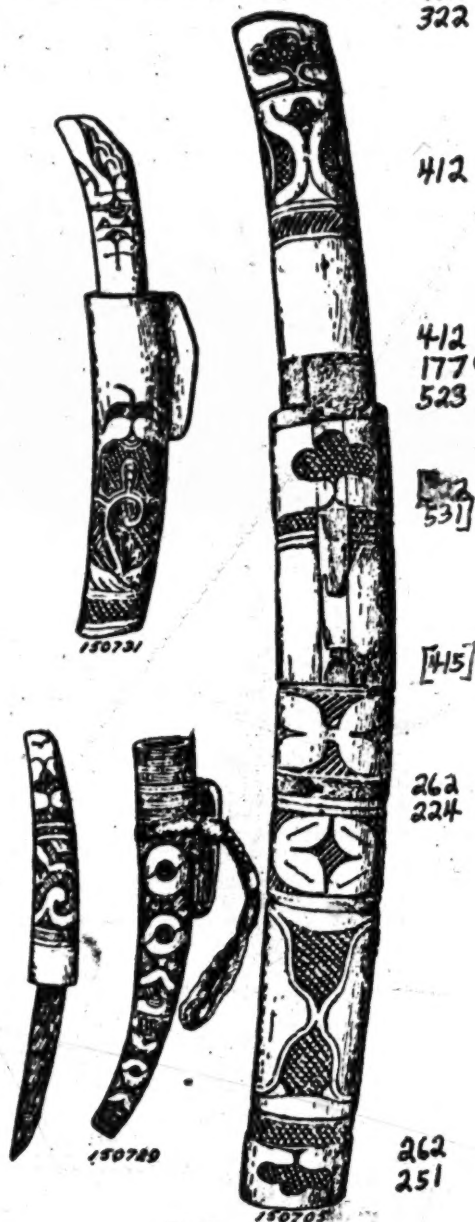


FIG. 78.  
CARVED WOODEN CASE.

262 strips 40 inches in length and dried. Dried herrings are abundant in  
 251 every house, but they are not pleasing to the eye. The roe of the salmon,  
*maon*, is also dried and much prized by the people.

[247] For vegetable food they depend partly upon the produce of small  
 patches of ground, which they cultivate in a rather careless manner,  
 and partly upon the natural products of the soil. A preparation  
 known as *shikeribikina* is the dried leaves of some plant unknown to  
 me, which they find on the mountains. Lily roots dried on strings are  
 found in every house. At Abashiri I found strings of small fruit,  
 which the Ainu called *maon*. These fruits belong to the genus *R. a.*,  
 and the Ainu eat them both green and dried. Flat, circular cakes of  
 dried lily roots, with a hole through the center, are tied together with  
 bark, but I was unable to get a translation of the name they bear,  
 which is, as I understood the word, *umbayero*. At Abashiri I found  
 some very good flour, but its source could not be learned. Numerous  
 other varieties of food are to be seen in the collection.

252 Cooking is carried on in an iron kettle with a wooden cover, over the  
 fire-place. Every imaginable edible substance that they possess goes  
 into the indescribable stew—fish, vegetable tops and roots, flesh and  
 fowl, altogether—to be either ladled out with wooden spoons or fished  
 out with chop-sticks from time to time, as one of the family requires  
 food. Fish is also spitted before the fire on sticks, which are stuck in  
 the ashes. All their food is either boiled in the pot or roasted on sticks  
 in this manner.

#### SAKÉ DRINKING.

273 From certain allusions in what are presumed to be native folk-lore  
 stories, it would seem that the Ainu have long known how to make a  
 kind of fermented drink from rice and millet. It is not unlikely that  
 they were taught by the Japanese. I am not aware that they do at  
 present make any such beverage, but they are inordinately fond of  
 Japanese saké. They will do almost anything to get saké, and they  
 drink it cold in great excess whenever they can obtain it.

[413] The usual form of saké cups, which, as already stated, are among  
 the treasures of the household, is represented in Fig. 77. The pecu-  
 413 liar carved sticks are mustache-lifters. These are made by the Ainu,  
 as the carving shows, but some of them are lacquered. The Ainu at  
 Shari and also at Bekkai claim, as I understood the jargon, that their  
 ancestors were acquainted with the use of lacquer and that they made  
 the sticks. I am disposed to doubt these statements, but it is a ques-  
 tion how they obtained the lacquered sticks. Some of these are cer-  
 tainly quite old, and they were highly valued by their possessors, who  
 probably would not have parted with them but in consideration of a  
 reward of saké in addition to the price demanded. When they were  
 obtained, the carving was quite filled with dirt, but that did not inter-  
 fere with their proper use by the people.

464

## REPORT OF NATIONAL MUSEUM, 1890.

285

386

been colored black and brown for the same purpose. The brown color is produced by soaking the bark in water along with the bark of *Alnus turbinata*. The black color is similarly produced from the bark of the *kan-no-ki*, (*Alnus Maritima*.) The *suge* is also used for making small bags. Similar bags are sometimes made of straw.

283

The bark of the Linden (*Lilia cordata*) is much used for twine, and a strong braided cord is made of this fiber. The Aino fish-nets are made of the same material.

## CARRYING BURDENS.

449

[64]

The usual mode of carrying burdens is by means of a band of woven or braided *ohiyo*, *Ulmus Montana* bark, passing over the forehead and tied behind the load on the back, as represented in Plate CV. These bands, called *tara* or *packai-tara*, are used also for carrying babes on the back. Sometimes a straight stick, about 15 inches in length, is tied so as to hang horizontally in the proper position to support the burden, as shown by one of the bands in the collection. The Aino women make great use of these *tara*. They will carry very heavy loads with them, and it is customary for them to bring large tubs of water to their homes precisely as the man represented in Plate CV is carrying an empty tub.

## MODE OF GREETING.

576

The Aino ceremony of greeting is simple and pleasing. The two hands are placed together with palms upward and outward. They are then gracefully raised to the chin and moved downward, stroking the long beard. They may not indeed touch the beard, but the movement is the same. It may be shortened to a mere flourish of the hands, just as a bow may be made formal or short.

It is now quite customary for the Ainos to bow in greeting. Sometimes they squat on the floor, and then bend over until their foreheads nearly touch it. This custom is undoubtedly borrowed from the Japanese, and is not at all pleasing, as their original form of greeting certainly is. A good description of the usual form of greeting is thus given by Mr. Blackiston:

My Aino was a stranger to these people, so on meeting, before exchanging a word, he went through a ceremonious form of salutation individually with each of the principal men. This they performed by going down on their knees, holding out the hands with the palms together, rubbed them backward and forward twice, the saluted party following the motions of the saluting one, then raised both hands to a level with the chin, palms uppermost, lowered them, raised them again, stroking the beard, lowered them and performed the last operation over again, which completed the ceremony.

Mr. Greey thus describes the Aino greeting represented in Plate CVI, taken from the original Japanese drawing:

The three chiefs placed their left hands over their right and began to rub them. This they continued to do for over five minutes, during which time they looked very

468

## REPORT OF NATIONAL MUSEUM, 1890.

224 These re-  
+11 rocious brutes are fearlessly attacked with such inferior weapons as the

bows and arrows represented in Fig. 81. One bow in this figure was obtained from an old man at Shari, who, in a most dramatic manner, illustrated the manner of shooting bears. The bow is strung by taking the free end of the string between the teeth and drawing up the slack while the hands are employed in bending the wood. The best bows are made of the wood of *Tarus cuspidata*.

The arrows are made in different ways. Some of them are plain, straight shafts, with iron heads and feathered ends. Not long since, stone heads were in use, but now Japanese iron is hammered into heavy barbed points. Since the introduction of knives, bamboo heads have been adopted. By so cutting the bamboo that the hard cortex of the stem forms the point and edge, very excellent arrow-heads are made. I have seen an arrow-head of this kind driven from a bow into a board with great force without noticeable injury to the point. The shaft is usually made in two sections. The notched end is usually a length of reed (*Phragmites*) or of scrub bamboo, at the lower end of which the feathers are tied with fine bark fiber. This is joined to a somewhat shorter length of wood, the upper part of which tapers, and is inserted into the base of the bamboo or bone head. Such jointed arrows are shown in Fig. 81. The heads are secured with

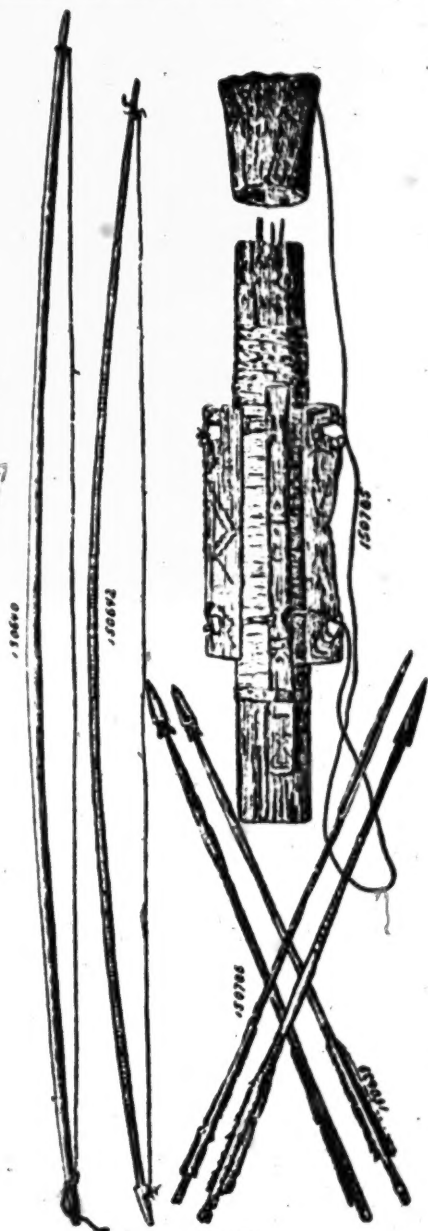


FIG. 81.  
BOWS, ARROWS, AND QUIVER.

resin and bindings of bark, but they are easily detached.

## THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

473

grains are thrown in heaps. This is known as the *murukuta-nusha* 778 (*mura* hulls, *kuta* to throw), and it is under the special protection of a female deity, who would be offended if the hulls were thrown broadcast over the ground.

Storms are caused by the strife of the thunder-gods who dwell in the 821 clouds. These gods are associated with the lion, for it is related that 776 the people once caught a lion, which escaped on a black cloud. The thunder is the noise of battling hosts, and the glancing, sword-like lightning. At least so says Dr. Scheube, but the idea is almost too poetical for the Ainu.

Some of the Japanese deities have found a place among the native 776 gods, but these are foreign to the spirit of the Ainu religion and can 777 scarcely receive great reverence. In one house I saw three shrines, evidently representing the Japanese *kami dana*. Before one of them were some faded artificial flowers standing in bottles clearly labeled "Lemon Drops, J. T. Morton."

The Japanese hero Yoshitsune is supposed to have fled to Yezo, and is generally regarded as the famous personage known to the Ainu as Okikurumi. It is said that the Ainu have only a single divinity of human origin, the ancestor of the race, Aioina. Nevertheless, there has long been a simple shrine to Yoshitsune on the summit of a hill near Piratori, which Miss Bird has described. But this author\* refers to Yoshitsune as "the great god of the mountain Ainu." It is even doubtful whether the Ainu did in fact worship Yoshitsune as a god; certainly it is incredible that he should be elevated to the high place assigned to him by Miss Bird. I was myself on the spot, with the famous chief Benri as my guide, but a recent storm, which had delayed me by making the river impassable, had also blown the shrine away, and its fragments were lying scattered down the steep hill-side.

The Ainu have but few religious symbols. The most important of 778 these are the *inau*, frequently called god-sticks, three forms of which are represented in Fig. 86. In some way, not very clearly understood, these represent the gods. One or more will always be found stuck in the ashes of the fireplace, and others here and there at convenient places on the wall of the house. They are simply ingeniously whittled sticks, usually of willow, with the long curled shavings pendant. Some have short spirals directed upward and are covered with bark at the lower end. Further notes upon their variety and use will be found in the course of the description of the bear feast.

The sacred quiver is made of carved wood with various metallic trimmings representing the sun and moon. It is associated with the house-god, but during the great bear feast it is hung on the sacred hedge. The skulls of bears and foxes are placed on the sacred hedge. The former are by far the more common, but every house is said to contain at least one fox skull, which may be a treasure handed down

\* Bird, Isabella L. Unbeaten Tracks in Japan, II, 72.



746 desirable to treat this subject at length in this place, for the reason  
535 that there is so little known as yet concerning the significance of the  
Aino dances. The dancing is not graceful. In some instances it would  
seem that the dances are imitative of animals, as the bear dance and  
the crane dance mentioned by Mr. Blackiston, who when unaware of  
the name "was forcibly struck with the resemblance of the chanting  
used during the performance to the sounds uttered by cranes."

746 A strange ceremony was once witnessed by Mr. Louis Boehmer  
among the Saru Ainos, which is thus quoted by Mr. Blackiston.

The chiefs were dressed expressly for the occasion in handsome robes embroidered  
with blue, and wore crowns of straw decorated with red flannel and bits of tin.  
Within the lodge were Japanese gifts that had accumulated for perhaps a score of  
generations, old swords, rice dishes, and lacquered ware; the oldest much the best and  
very handsome, the newest nearly plain lacquer.

The Ainos in drinking raised their heavy mustache with a small stick, somewhat  
like a paper cutter, made for the purpose and sometimes neatly carved. The next  
morning on the shore some of the Ainos made a prayer to the sea-god to quiet the  
swollen waves, and to send back two boats that had gone out each with two Ainos a  
couple of days before. The same day an Aino boat that went in search of them,  
brought back one boat, but the other seemed to be lost. The two rescued, but half  
starved men were fed on the seashore, and towards sunset there was a singular  
dance on the beach. The Aino men of the village formed one line and the women  
another, and with poles like lances in their hands went through many evolutions.  
Sometimes they would make as if charging with their lances against the sea. Then  
there was another prayer by an old man facing the sea. After sundown all hope for  
the other boat was given up, and according to custom the women in all of the neighbor-  
[765] ing five villages devoted themselves to lamentations, which they kept up the greater  
part of the night. They squatted in pairs on the ground, facing and hugging each  
other, and wailed and shed tears. The men did not join in the crying, and the  
women did not except while squatting.

There is also a harvest festival, which occurs in November, when  
much saké is consumed with singing and dancing. Both sexes join in  
most of the dances.

533 Some of the popular songs are given by Dr. Scheube, among which  
539 the following will bear translation:

*Drinking song.*—I am chief in this village; thou art chief in another village. We  
do not know which of us is the wiser. In order to decide we must begin a strife of  
words together. This, however, does not go well with the drinking. Therefore we  
will content ourselves with the drinking.

*Song of thanksgiving.*—I am very fortunate that I have received from you, most  
honored sir, such good eating and drinking.

*Fisher song when a new boat is first used.*—The daughters of the master are beautiful,  
the old as well as the young. So beautiful will this boat also be.

#### MYTHS AND FOLK-LORE.

773 The Ainos having been, as it may reasonably be supposed, more or  
177 less subjected to Japanese influences for a thousand years, it would be  
very strange if they had not borrowed something from the latter of  
their mythology and folk-lore. So indeed they have, but this influence  
has not been so strongly felt as might be expected, doubtless because



## THE AINOS OF YEZO, JAPAN.

483

the two peoples are so surprisingly different in character and in their ways of thinking. 773  
177

The mythologies of the Japanese and Ainos are essentially distinct. After eliminating from the latter numerous stories, which are obviously imitations or adaptations of Chinese or Japanese tales, there remains a totally distinct series of narratives, handed down verbally from an unknown source and perhaps from a very distant age.

The mythology of the Japanese is a remarkable development of ancestral worship. The Mikado traces his descent to the sun, the common ancestor of the Japanese people. The system treats of the exploits of gods and heroes, the latter being elevated to places among the kamui to be revered and worshiped. There is scarcely a moral teaching in it. It is a kind of hero worship, but the hero may be a very wicked sinner.

The Aino myths, on the other hand, usually have a moral application. The Ainos have but few great heroes. The subjects of their tales are mostly beasts and birds. These are the gods of the Ainos, as well as the actors in his fairy-land. It would extend this report to an undue length to reproduce all the stories translated by Professor Chamberlain, Dr. Scheube and Mr. Batchelor, but some of them may well be given to indicate their general character. Dr. Scheube has given three quite interesting tales concerning the Japanese hero Yoshitsune, who is supposed to have visited the Ainos in the twelfth century, and to have taught them various useful things. There is also a strange story of a Japanese girl who was disobedient. Her father put her into a box and threw it into the sea. It was borne northward by wind and wave, and finally landed in Yezo, where the town Ishikari now stands. A dog came along and broke open the box with his teeth. The maiden was still alive. As she saw the dog she said to herself, "I have been disobedient to my father at home, therefore I have fared so badly. Here where there are only dogs I must obey them that I may not again be punished. In my earlier stage of existence it was predestined that I should marry a dog." So she married the dog and the two lived happily together, and she brought forth a child whose body was covered with long black hair, and other hairy children. These were the first Ainos. It is doubtful whether this is an Aino legend. It is more probably of Japanese origin.

The following stories are selected from the translations of Prof. B. H. Chamberlain and Mr. J. Batchelor:

## HOW IT WAS SETTLED WHO SHOULD RULE THE WORLD.

By Professor CHAMBERLAIN.

When the creator had finished creating this world of men, the good and the bad gods were all mixed together promiscuously, and began disputing for the possession of the world. They disputed—the bad gods wanting to be at the head of the government of this world and the good gods having a similar desire. So the following arrangement was agreed to: Whoever, at the time of sunrise, should be the first to

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539

a grand appearance to its weird and sterile slopes, which are covered with warmly-tinted cinders, pumice, and lava. 133

I went over to Mororran, across Volcano Bay, and the following morning I risked my life on a small craft, which took me over to Mombeta. From this place I rode on to Uso and Aputa, two Ainu villages at a short distance from each other.

Coming from Japan the first thing that strikes a traveller in the Ainu country is the odour of dried fish, which one can smell everywhere; the next is the great number of crows—the scavengers of the country; lastly, the volcanic nature of the island. On visiting an Ainu village what impressed me most were the miserable and filthy huts, compared with the neat and clean Japanese houses; the poverty and almost appalling dirt of the people and their gentle, submissive nature. 114 [251] 511

I shall not dwell at length on these Volcano Bay Ainu, as this part of the country is comparatively civilised, and has been travelled over by many people previous to my going there. Besides, most of them have intermarried with Japanese, and have consequently adopted many Japanese customs and manners. 177

The Ainu of the coast build their huts generally on a single line, near the shore, and each family has its "dug out" canoe drawn up on the beach, ready to hand when wanted. The huts are small and miserable-looking, and they have no furniture or bedding to speak of. The roof and walls are thatched with *arundinaria*, but so imperfectly that wind and rain find easy access through their reedy covering. Curiosity is the only good quality which I ever possessed, and in obedience to it I poked my nose into several of the huts along the beach. This was a mistake on my part, for in the Ainu country the nose is the last thing one ought to poke in anywhere. I was more than astonished to see how human beings could live in such filth! The natives kindly asked me to enter, and I of course did so, stooping low through the small door and raising the mat which protects the aperture. When I was in I could smell a great deal more than I could see, for the east window—the size of a small handkerchief, and the only one in the hut—did not give light enough to illuminate the premises. However, I soon got accustomed to the dimness, and then I could make out my surroundings clearly enough. 361 340 [574] [609]

342  
632 a prism. The different huts of Piratori vary in size, but not in type. The larger ones cover an area of about sixteen or eighteen feet square. Most of them, however, do not measure more than ten or twelve feet square. Benry's house was exceptionally large, and being such a "swell" one, two rough kinna (mats) were spread on the floor and a number of Japanese rice boxes and *shokuji* tables<sup>1</sup> adorned one side of the dwelling. Over these were hung a number of swords, knives, etc., most of them with no blade at all, or with only a wooden one. The few old blades which Benry possessed were of Japanese workmanship, probably obtained by the Ainu in their former wars with the Japanese. A few Ainu spears and arrows with bone and bamboo poisoned points were fastened to the roof.

352  
353  
622  
411 These Ainu of Piratori have frequent intercourse with the Japanese, who get from them furs and other articles in exchange for *sake* or a few worthless beads. A few half-castes are also found at Piratori. The Piratori Ainu, with those of Volcano Bay, as we have seen, are those best known to the civilised world, as a few foreigners have travelled so far to see them. I may mention that as types the inhabitants of Piratori are a great deal better than the residents of Volcano Bay, most of whom are half-breeds; but even they themselves cannot be taken as fair specimens of their race, for they have adopted several customs and habits of the Japanese, which the incautious traveller has then reported as purely Ainu customs. For instance, the pure Ainu diet consists almost entirely of fish, meat, and seaweeds. Only occasionally are the roots of certain trees eaten. At Piratori I found that many grow and eat millet, and corn and bad rice are also sometimes procured from the Japanese. Benry has also gone so far in the way of civilisation as to invest his small fortune in buying half-a-dozen hens and a cock, with whom he shares his regal home. These hens lay eggs according to custom, and Benry and his "wife" eat them. As the Ainu language has no special word for this imported kind of bird, they are known by the name of "kikkiri."

123 After the experience which I had had at Horobets I decided to be more careful with my sketching. I broached the subject

<sup>1</sup> Small Japanese dinner tables.

501 together with the fibre of a kind of vine. The concave bottom is all of one piece—a partial “dug-out”—to which are added the side pieces, of three planks each, sewn together at an angle of about  $170^\circ$ , and made to fit the sides of the “dug-out.” Two more pieces, one aft and one forward, meet the side planks at right angles. The length of these canoes varies from 10 to 15 feet, the width from 3 to  $3\frac{1}{2}$  feet. Two pieces of wood are then lashed horizontally, which answer the double purpose of strengthening the sides of the canoe and, being provided with pins outside the canoe, of allowing it to be used as an outrigger when rowing. Canoes are either rowed or sailed. The oars are made of two pieces firmly lashed

FRONT VIEW OF  
LASHED CANOE.

AINU OARS.

together. A hole is bored in the part which is to be passed through the pin in the outrigger. One person is generally sufficient to row an Ainu canoe, and he does so standing. There is no steering gear or rudder, and when rowing the oars are used for that purpose. Ainu canoes are not decked, and therefore cannot stand heavy seas. They are alike on both sides, and in most cases the two ends of the canoe are also shaped alike. There are, however, certain canoes which, in my opinion, have been suggested to the Ainu by Japanese boats, and which are flat at the stern. These are generally larger, and used for sailing. A square mat sail is rigged on a

• [199]



SAILING CANOE.

short mast forward, and the steering is done with one of the oars at the stern. The sailing qualities of these canoes, however, are not very great, and the slightest squall causes

K1  
 [583] Unfortunately, the Ainu of this region<sup>1</sup>, are not very numerous, and constant intermarriage among near relations has proved detrimental to the race. However, a glance at them is quite sufficient to show the difference between them and Ainu of other tribes. They are not so picturesquely arrayed as their more western brothers, and the large Japanese brass and silver earrings, as well as the glass bead necklaces which make such a brave show yonder, are replaced here by

184  
 301  
 [177]



AINU WOMAN OF FRISHIKORETS, ON THE TOKACHI RIVER.

291 rough bone or wooden ornaments. Men and women in summer are almost entirely naked, and all children are clad in their own bare skins only. Their winter garments are made of bear and deer skins. Some peculiar snow-sandals, made of the bark of a kind of ash-tree called *shina*, are sometimes worn over the winter salmon-skin boots or moccasins. The Ainu make their ropes out of the bark of this *shina*, though often young vine stems are used for the same purpose. River fishing-nets are generally made of young vines twisted. They are of the roughest description, and are only fit for

283  
 227

<sup>1</sup>[i.e., the Tokachi River region -- Analyst]

OOO a region which, after all, is not difficult of access from the main island of Nippon. To the mineral products of the Kushiro district must be added the exports of fish (salmon and herrings), fish manure, and seaweed, which could be greatly increased if more practical processes were used.

The town of Kushiro itself is not picturesque. There are, I dare say, as many as five hundred houses, some built in Japanese, some in semi-foreign style. The streets are very wide, and along the main street rails have been laid to carry coal trucks from the Harutori mine down to the shipping point. Thus the town has a civilised appearance, which was artistically ugly enough, but refreshing to my eyes after my experiences along the south-west and south-east coasts. There are Ainu huts along the river banks, on the high lands, and on the strip of sand between Lake Harutori and the sea. Unfortunately, most of the Ainu here, being in the employ of the Japanese, have adopted Japanese clothes, customs, manners, and language. Nearly all the younger folks are half-castes. A select few have even gone so far as to forget their strongest national characteristic of dirt; and, to my great amazement, one day I saw an Ainu half-caste actually taking a hot bath. It may amuse the reader to learn of what this Japanese bathing accommodation generally consists. It is one of the features in nearly all fishing stations in Yezo, and it is worth describing.

361  
J77  
[E] 550 When the day's work is over, one or more of the iron fish-kettles or caldrons used for extracting the oil from herrings are filled with water. These caldrons rest each on a cylindrical base of stones and clay, thus allowing a big fire of wood to be lighted under them. When the water has reached a high temperature, the bather either provides himself with an old pair of straw sandals (*waraji*), and steps in, or, placing a small board on the water, places his foot on it, and forces it down to the bottom of the caldron by his own weight. He thus avoids scalding his feet, which otherwise he would do severely. I have often seen two or three men (Japanese) placidly sitting up to their necks in the steaming water of the same caldron, with a huge fire burning under it; and several times I have been *warmly* invited by the bathers to join them, which *very warm* invitation, however, I invariably *coolly* considered and declined with thanks.



172 the smaller details, and I was always struck by the small  
 extent to which the Ainu have adopted the customs of the  
 dominant race. Indeed, the character of Ainu buildings is  
 peculiar to the Ainu themselves, and, far from constructing  
 their dwellings over pits, they go to the other extreme, and  
 perch their storehouses on piles or posts. It is a remarkable  
 coincidence that on the Lake Kutcharo, not many miles from  
 Kusuri, where the Koro-pok-kuru pits are numerous, the roofs  
 of the Ainu huts and storehouses are not angular, but circular,  
 which gives them the appearance of half a cylinder resting on  
 the ground. This struck me as being in all probability the  
 shape of structures built over rectangular pits, while the  
 coverings of round pits must have been shaped like half a  
 sphere, similar to the snow houses of the Esquimaux, and the  
 elliptical like the longer half of an egg.

[342] The present houses of the Kutcharo Lake Ainu, however,  
 are not built on pits; and on my questioning the few inhabit-  
 ants of the village, all were perfectly ignorant of the existence  
 of the Koro-pok-kuru, and they knew nothing of their own  
 ancestors, nor whether they had built structures over pits or  
 not. The idea seemed to them highly ludicrous, and afforded  
 them a great deal of amusement.

184 On the north-east coast of Yezo, where pits are found, some  
 341 Ainu huts have round and others angular roofs; but even in  
 132 the latter instance, the angle of the two sides of the roof is not  
 as acute as with the huts on the Saru and the Tokachi River;  
 but both slant in a more gentle way, forming an obtuse angle  
 of about 135. In fact, these variations in the Ainu archi-  
 tecture have not yet been accounted for, and whether they  
 copied their roofs from their foes the Koro-pok-kuru, or  
 whether it is a mere chance that the roofs bear a certain  
 resemblance, cannot be discovered from tradition or hearsay.  
 I may mention incidentally my own theory, which may afford  
 an explanation of this point. As the Saru, the Tokachi,  
 341 and the Ishikari districts have no very severe weather in  
 132 winter, and only a comparatively small quantity of snow falls  
 184 during the colder months, the Ainu build huts with very  
 slanting roofs, so that the snow should not remain on them  
 in winter, while during the summer months the rain should  
 fall off the steep incline of the roof before it could filter

172 The Japanese know the pit-dwellers by the name of "Ko-bito," or "Ko-shto," the latter word meaning "men of the lakes,"<sup>1</sup> but they know nothing of their history.

[323] One fact still remains to be explained, namely, who made the pottery that is disinterred in almost every pit and by the shores of lakes. The present Ainu do not know how to make pottery, and they have never been known to manufacture anything of the kind. All Ainu implements are made of wood,

• [177] though of course the more civilised tribes have now purchased iron or porcelain implements from the Japanese. The question, then, is, supposing that the Ainu were formerly the pit-dwellers, have they lost the art of making pottery, or did the pottery belong to a different race of people?



KORO-POK-KURU POTTERY AND FRAGMENTS OF DESIGNS.

It seemed singular to me that, conservative as the Ainu are of their relics, even allowing for its brittle nature, no pottery of the kind found in pits is ever to be seen in any Ainu hut. Had they made the pottery themselves, surely some specimens or parts of specimens would have been preserved.

[173] Comparing facts, we find, then, that the Koro-pok-kuru built their huts over pits, made pottery, and used stone and flint implements; while the Ainu have never been known to dwell in pits, have never made pottery, and have always used bone or bamboo implements. Moreover, Ainu traditions of internecine wars, vague as they are, and their designating the enemy by the name of Koro-pok-kuru, are further proofs that the Ainu themselves do not regard the pit-dwellers as their forefathers. As, then, the few facts collected tend to prove that

<sup>1</sup> *Ko*, lake; *shto*, man. *Ko* is probably a corruption of the Ainu word *to*, a lake or a swamp, and it is used by the Japanese of Yezo for "lake," instead of the word "*nume*."

∞ Birvase, a small village of seaweed gatherers, is reached, and the next two and a half miles are along a sandy beach as far as Hammanaka. A short bridge joins this place to the island of Kiritap, which is separated from the mainland by a channel only a few feet wide. Towards the evening the fog lifted, and I caught a glimpse of the village.

The ponies of the Kiritap village had just been let loose, and were running over the small wooden bridge with great clamour. The houses, which number about a hundred and twenty, are all poor and dirty. There is a main street, and most of the houses are on each side of it. The people are fishermen, seaweed gatherers, and small traders; for Hammanaka Bay, being a good anchorage for junks and small craft under the lee of Kiritap Island, is a place of some importance for its export trade of seaweeds, fish-oil, and herring guano; these products being sent down to Hakodate.

199 If a few Ainu have adopted the Japanese language, clothes, and customs, there are also many Japanese who have taken up the Ainu language and ways. I noticed this more particularly in this district, where the Ainu have almost entirely disappeared. The older Japanese and many of the younger folks have Ainu features; and not only have they adopted a great number of Ainu words, but when talking Japanese they speak it with the peculiar intonation and accent pertaining to the Ainu. This is not surprising, nor yet peculiar to the Japanese or the Chinese; for we find that almost all English residents in Chinese ports adopt many of the words of our pig-tailed brothers, and have thus formed a kind of local English, besides the "pidgeon-English"—a corruption of "business English"—which almost constitutes a language of its own.

194 The Ainu, like the Scotch or the French, give a rolling sound to the "r." Thus, for instance, if I had written the word "Riruran" as it is pronounced I should have spelt it "Rrurruran." Then the Ainu almost sing their words—the women in a falsetto voice, ending in a singularly mournful kind of cadenza. On his return from a journey, a hunt, or a fishing expedition, the Ainu squats down cross-legged in his hut, and, after the conventional introductory ceremony of rubbing the palms of his hands together and then repeatedly stroking his hair and beard, proceeds to relate the adventures

that have befallen him during his absence. This he does by singing out his story in a sort of monotone, or sometimes chanting it. When conversing with Japanese the Ainu have slightly modified this habit, which gave rise to much mirth to the light-hearted sons of the Mikado's empire. However, like all people who are ready to laugh at everything novel, the local Japanese have now themselves fallen into that same manner of speaking, which, after all, has its charms, as it is rather sentimental in spirit, and so far pleasant to the ear. What is more, they have also acquired the slow ways of the Ainu. [194] [538] [177] ●

All along the beach between Hammanaka and Hattaushi, a distance of nearly twenty miles, there are fishermen's and seaweed gatherers' huts; but none of them is inhabited by Ainu. Men, women, and children are all occupied in the seaweed gathering industry; and it is when the sea is stormy that the largest quantity of kelp is collected. The numerous reefs and rocks all along the shore-line afford suitable ground and bottom for its growth and production; and during a stormy sea quantities of kelp float on the breaking waves, to be finally thrown on shore. The industrious gatherers seldom wait for this "jetsam," as the long weeds, after they are washed off the rock, and before they are finally swept on shore, are apt to be damaged by the waves, and are therefore of less value for the export market than when long and fresh; wherefore, each gatherer provides himself with a long pole or hook, and from morning till night these half-naked "toilers of the sea" can be seen running to and fro in and out of the waves dragging bunches of long ribbon-like seaweeds, which are then carefully disentangled, stretched on the sands to dry, and, after several days of exposure, are packed for the market. 000

Some huge cliffs towering over the sandy beach make the track interesting; and here and there, scattered in the Hammanaka Bay, are some oyster-banks before reaching the single shed of Hattaushi. The following twelve miles were on an extremely bad track, partly over steep hills and partly on tiresome soft sand. Then I arrived at Otchishi—without exception the loveliest little spot in Yezo. It lies in the centre of a small bay, on the two sides of which are magnificent headlands with precipitous cliffs and rocks of volcanic forma- 133

yellow, or brightly-coloured handkerchief, of Russian manufacture, is tied round the neck and another round the back of the head, and this makes the women look like Italian peasants. As the gown is worn usually loose it has the identical shape of a dressing-gown; it is ornamented with yellow feathers of puffins round the neck and the edge. Both men and women wear either moccasins, or long boots made of sealskin, with the fur inside, or else they wear salmon-skin boots, like the Ainu of Yezo. No woman that I saw at Shikotan had a moustache tattooed round her lips, or any tattoo marks on her arms. Very few of them wore earrings, though all had the ears bored for that purpose, and had worn them. The earrings which they possessed were mostly strings of coral beads and metal ornaments of Russian manufacture, which, like the brightly-coloured handkerchiefs, they had received in bartering with the crew of a sealing schooner. Since they have been at Shikotan the men have been presented with old caps and overcoats, similar to those of the Japanese police. Previous to this, however, when the Kuriles were under the rigid Russian régime, the Kurilsky Ainu men were compelled to trim their hair and beard, which was the first step taken by the priests of the Coptic Church in Christianising these nomadic barbarians. When this hair-dressing order was complied with, as the first link of the chain, the Coptic creed was enforced on them, and the barbarous Kurilsky Ainu became well-trimmed orthodox Christians.

At Shikotan, as it is, fishing on a small scale is their main occupation, praying the next, and Jacko, the chief of the village, is the high priest. Jacko's predecessor, in fulfilling the duties of this high post, was a man who had dropped his Ainu name, and had been baptized as Alexandrovitch. His house is now occupied by Jacko. It is the first on the right-hand side when the village is entered from the harbour side, and it is larger than any of the others; it is built of wood instead of rushes and reeds. The interior is divided into two rooms, and in the second are three stands, the middle one of which has a cross on it. On each of these stands is a Russian Bible, with images hanging on the page-marks. Several rough stools and a couple of benches are placed in rows in front of these stands, and on the walls hang two



179 or three Russian religious images. Taken altogether, and  
246 compared with other Ainu huts, Jacko's chapel had quite a  
993 stately appearance.

177 Just as the Ainu of Yezo have partly acquired the Japanese  
191 language, the Kurilsky Ainu have learned to talk Russian,  
besides speaking an Ainu dialect.

177 On Sundays, or on any day which Jacko thinks is a Sunday,  
994 the chief reads the mass before a congregation of the other fifty-  
nine hairy Christians of the Russian Orthodox Church; he does  
not spare them a sermon, which sometimes lasts half the day,  
and his audience are most attentive and well behaved. None of  
them would think of leaving church before service is over; but  
one detail in which these hairy Christians are not yet fully  
Christianised is, that no collection plate is ever sent round!  
The Kurilsky Ainu have undoubtedly accepted the form of  
their adopted religion, but I rather doubt whether they have  
fallen in with the principle. Their former barbarian ideas  
and superstitions are still well rooted in their brain, and each  
individual was a curious and enviable combination of a  
perfect heathen and a thorough Christian, according to what  
suited him or her better at the time being. In other words,  
they believed in two diametrically opposed principles, one  
of which fitted in with every phase of their life when the other  
was deficient.

161 As many as ninety people, all told, were landed at Shikotan,  
but thirty had already succumbed when I visited the island.  
A graveyard on a hill on the west side of the village was  
indeed a sad reminder of this fact. It will not be long before  
[164] all the others will pass away, for consumption and rheumatism  
have a great hold on most of the wretches. In ten years from  
now, I dare say, not one of the Kurilsky tribe of Ainu will be  
left on this earth. It is pitiful that the last remains of these  
independent people will end their days secluded and in exile  
on the barren rocks of Shikotan.

184 As it is, they seem to take life easily, and, with a character-  
istic proper to all nomadic peoples, they make the best of what  
[157] they can get. They are not shy, and they have dropped the  
formalities and grand salutations of other Ainu. They are,  
however, as dirty, especially in their homes. The women dress  
[300] their hair in small tresses.



000 above the sea-level. The soil all along is very marshy, and the numerous little rivulets and rivers are extremely troublesome to cross. My pony was continually sinking into and struggling out of mud-holes, into which it had fallen when wading across these small watercourses, sometimes not more  
 361 than a few feet wide. I pushed on as far as Shimbets, where there are only a shed and a couple of Ainu huts inhabited by half-castes. I had to put up here for the night, and by the  
 354 light of a wick burning in a large oyster-shell filled with fish-oil I wrote a few notes in my diary. The fleas in that house were something appalling. The next morning I had some  
 000 fun with a wild pony, which I received in exchange for the tired animal I had brought.

"Nobody can get on him," said the Ainu half-caste, "but if you think you can ride him he will go like the wind."

It took all hands in the small village to get the pack-saddle and baggage on to his back, and after we had tied him to a post and lashed his fore legs together I mounted. By instalments he was untied, let loose, and then afforded us some real fun. He revolved, bucked, kicked, stood on his hind legs, and did his very best to bite my legs and knock me off the saddle. A small fence was kicked and smashed into a thousand bits, and he even attempted to enter the huts—anything to get rid of his rider; but he did not succeed. His next trick was to plunge into the river close by, and when he reached the middle to shake himself violently. He then came out on the other side, and, turning his head, saw as well as felt that I was still on his back; then he neighed as if in great distress, and bolted. He galloped along the small track, and really did go "like the wind." As a punishment I made him keep up the pace even when he was tired of his contumacy, and in less than no time I reached Shibets, ten miles distant from where I had started.

361 Shibets is a village of one hundred Japanese houses and twenty Ainu huts. The Ainu here have almost altogether  
 • 177 adopted Japanese clothes, as well as something of the Japanese style of living. The river which goes by the same name is notable for the quantity and good quality of salmon caught in it, and it is the best salmon-fishing river on the north-east coast of Yezo. Herrings are also abundant, but not to the  
 226 same extent as on the south-east coast.

000 leading my tired beast, and dragging him along as well as I could. Every few yards the wretched creature collapsed, and it took a lot of petting, caressing, encouraging and beating to make him get up again. I had ridden and walked about fourteen hours in the rain, and was nearly frozen to death.

Since I had got out of the forest a bitterly cold north wind chilled me through and through, and added the last touch to my weariness and discomfort. Again the pony fell, and all my efforts to make him get up were useless. The storm, if anything, seemed to increase in violence, while my own strength was decreasing every minute. I lay down by the side of the pony, trying to warm myself by his heat, and, shivering and rattling my teeth together, I tried to go to sleep.

A couple of hours were spent in this way, and when the moon rose I could see a little clearer. I climbed with hands and feet on to the sand-hills, and I fancied I saw some dark spots in the distance. Could they be Shari? First one end of my whip, then the other, was reduced into pulp on my pony's back, and with a great effort he again stood on all four legs. I had to support the wretch all the way, as you would a drunken man, and we went at the rate of less than a mile an hour. The spots grew bigger and bigger, and took the shape of huts.

574  
609 "Hem, hem, hem, hem!" I called out at the first hut, while three or four dogs barked furiously and went for my legs. "Will you let a stranger sleep here to-night?"

"This is no house for strangers; go elsewhere!" answered a drowsy hoarse voice from inside.

"May you be kept — hot!" said I, in pure Ainu fashion, though in my heart I attached quite a different meaning to the sentence from that which the hairy people give it; and wearily I pulled myself together and passed on.

A shadow crept out of one of the huts, and thanks to that shadow I found a shelter for the night. There are fifty Ainu huts at Shari, and ten Japanese, with an Ainu population of about one hundred souls. The Ainu here have adopted Japanese clothes, and many of them eat Japanese food when they can get it. The Ainu women of Shari are exceedingly pretty, as



133

THE KAMUIKOTAN RAPIDS.

## CHAPTER XVII.

[The Ishikari River.

ON the north side of the mouth of the Ishikari River is an Ainu village called Raishats. Its inhabitants are not natives of this island, but were imported by the Japanese Government from Sakhalin when it was exchanged with Russia for the Kuriles. 361 167

At the entrance of the river, and close to this village, another wreck—of the “Kamida Maru”—a schooner, ended the mournful list of disasters on this inhospitable coast. 600

The Ainu of Raishats are different in some ways from the Yezo Ainu proper. They call themselves Kraftu Ainu, “Kraftu”<sup>1</sup> being the Ainu name for Sakhalin. Their skin is of a lighter colour; but the principal difference is in their eyes and eyebrows. The Kraftu Ainu have eyes of the Mongolian type, though larger, while the Yezo Ainu have not; and their eyebrows have a very pronounced curve near the nose. Most of the women seemed to suffer from consumption, and the men also did not seem as strong as the other Ainu. The women tattoo on their lips a small square pattern instead of the long moustache, and most of them have now adopted Japanese *kimonos*, or else wear gowns similar to those of 142 182 164 304 291 171

<sup>1</sup> Sometimes also pronounced *Krafto*.

291  
● 177 Russian peasants. Some also wear skin gowns similar to those of the Kurilsky Ainu, ornamented with feathers and bits of molten lead sewn on them. A velvet cap or a kind of tiara is their head-gear, and this also is ornamented with gold and silver or red beads, or else is embroidered in bright colours.

293  
E31 The children are arrayed in more gaudy colours than their elders. They have bright red embroideries round their necks, and the whole gown is full of spangles and beads, the proceeds of parental barter. A peculiar paunch-suspender, which I saw here for the first time, was ingenious, and answered a great want in the Ainu country. As will be seen later, the majority of Ainu children have huge paunches, mostly due to the inability of the hairy people to tie and secure properly the umbilical cord at the child's birth. This not only produces great discomfort to the child, but often causes its death. The belt which I saw was made on the principle that the weight of the paunch, under which passed a kind of net made of strips of skin, was supported by braces going over the shoulders, and by this contrivance, if the original lesion did not get much better it did not get worse, as it does when not taken any care of at all.

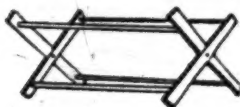
301 Neither men nor women wore earrings; but the fair sex wore a kind of velvet ribbon necklace round their neck, and on this ribbon were sewn ornaments of molten lead, silver, and other metals.

764 The habitations, storehouses, and customs of these Ainu are similar to those of the others. As I slowly rode along the banks of the river just before sunset, retracing my steps towards the Ishikari village, I saw a hidden trail, which apparently led to the woods. I made my pony follow it, and shortly afterwards I came to a graveyard. As I have said, the Ainu are extremely jealous of their burial-places, and they resent strangers, even Japanese, going near them. It was nearly fifteen days since the accident to my leg had occurred, and though I could neither walk nor stand on it, still I was beginning to be accustomed to the agony, and with great trouble and pain I could dismount from my tiny pony. Strange to say, mounting was not so difficult, for I could pull myself up with my arms, lie flat on my stomach on the saddle, and then swing round, and it did not jar me as much as coming down. I had my paint-box fastened to the saddle, and I unlashed

wine and as an implement in weaving); a pestle and mortar carved out of the trunk of a tree; and, if he be a very ambitious person and fond of his wife, he will probably make her a weaving loom as well as two or three "water-jugs" if we may call them so—vessels made of bark bent into shape, and lashed so strongly as to be water-tight, and used for carrying water as needed.

A few wooden bowls, a wooden hook, which is suspended over the fire when bear-meat is smoked, occasionally a *Kinna* (a mat), and a skin or two, are all the articles of furniture of Ainu manufacture which an Ainu can possess, though few of them possess so many. The Ainu hut has a fire-place in the centre, or rather, a fire is lighted in the centre of the hut. The fire is lighted with a flint and steel—a method learned from the Japanese—or by the friction of two sticks. The more civilised Ainu have now adopted matches. A hole in the angle of the roof acts as chimney, but unfortunately more in name than in practice.

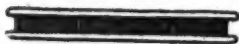
Chairs, stools, sofas, beds, tables, etc., are all things unknown to the Ainu. While inspecting the hut it may be as well to see how the weaving-loom, the most complicated article of the Ainu household, is made and worked. There is a "yarn beam" (the *Kammakappe*), on which the "warp" of unwoven thread is wound and kept separated, and another "roll" by which the warp threads in the process of weaving



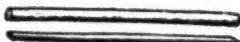
THE KAMMAKAPPE.



PORO-USA, OR "LARGE GRATING."



THE USA.



STICKS.

are kept in tension between the two gratings. There then is the *Poro-usa* (the "large grating"), through the intervals of which the warp threads pass, and the *Usa*, a similar but smaller grating placed on the other side of the roll.



262 they find on the mountains. Metallurgy is utterly unknown  
 [325] to the Ainu. Until of late years they possessed nothing made  
 411 of metal. Their arrows had bamboo or bone heads; tin or  
 197 iron cooking utensils they had none; and the blades of their  
 knives were and are of Japanese origin. Some of these blades  
 are very old, and were acquired by the Ainu in the battles  
 which they fought against the Japanese; others have been got  
 by barter-metal exchanged for skins of animals.

40 Furthermore, save the weaving-loom, the Ainu possess no  
 machinery of their own make. This too, as we have seen, is  
 but a very rude and simple kind of machine. The application  
 of wind or water power to economise human labour is in no  
 way known to them; thus they have no windlasses, no pumps,  
 no bellows, no windmills, no waterwheels; neither have they  
 any signs of the rudest form of machinery moved by manual  
 power which they have imagined and made for themselves.  
 Furthermore, they are very loth to accept those mechanical  
 [199] means of economising labour which are employed by their  
 neighbours the Japanese.

181 The Ainu are very conservative, little as they may have to  
 preserve. They show a great dislike to change or reform their  
 habits and customs, or to improve themselves in any way.  
 Worse they could certainly not be. They have no ancestral  
 attachment which makes them unwilling to discard their rude  
 practices for more civilised ways; but, acting according to  
 their instincts, and not by their intelligence, they preserve  
 customs which seem inconvenient and unpractical to us, which  
 habit has rendered familiar and pleasant to them.

Various natives in other parts of the world show signs of an  
 earlier state of civilisation, but the Ainu do not. They have  
 never had a past civilisation, they are not civilised now, and  
 what is more, they will never be civilised. Civilisation kills  
 them. As a hog delights in filth, so the Ainu can only live in  
 dirt, neglect, and savagery of personal habits. They are made  
 that way, and they cannot help it. They are excluded from  
 progress by an impassable barrier. They have many miseries  
 in their life, but no greater misery could befall an Ainu than  
 to be forced to lead a civilised existence. Even after they  
 have been educated in Japanese schools, when they return  
 home, in a short time they forget all they have learned, and



152 not understand of course frighten them, like eclipses of the sun or moon, or as my revolver did when I was attacked by them at Horobets; and also when I appeared as a black-winged rider on the north-east coast. In the latter case, unfortunately, I was too far off to see their faces clearly, and in the former, after the attack they showed more sensible submission to the inevitable than true cowardice. What I chiefly saw then was here and there a face with wide-open, undecided eyes heavily frowning; while some of the others shrugged their shoulders and closed their eyes, waiting for the loud report of the revolver, which unpleasant noise, heard before from Japanese guns, always gives a shock to their nerves.

152  
201 When an Ainu wishes to show that something cannot be done, or that he cannot prevent someone else from doing it, he neither shrugs his shoulders like a Frenchman, nor shakes his head laterally like an Englishman; nor does he throw out his hands like a Neapolitan, but, quietly standing erect, and with his head slightly bent forward, he gently lifts it up, and slowly winking his eyes, says that he cannot do it.

When children are sulky or displeased they frown and protrude their lips, making a nasal noise similar to this—"Ohim"—without any of the vowels clearly pronounced.

201 Our way of nodding the head vertically in sign of affirmation and shaking it laterally in negation is not known to the thoroughbred race. Those, either Ainu or half-castes, who practise it have learned it from the Japanese. The right hand is generally used in negation, passing it from right to left and back in front of the chest; and both hands are gracefully brought up to the chest and prettily waved downwards—palms upwards—in sign of affirmation. In other words, their affirmation is a simpler form of their salute, just the same as with us the nodding of the head is similarly used both ways.

152 It is quite enough to look at an Ainu's eyes to see at once whether he consents or not, just as it is quite enough to look at a monkey's face to know if it will accept the apple you offer it. Slyness and jealousy are well marked in the Ainu face, and the former is seen in the glittering, restless eyes, the latter in the sulky glance and protruding mouth. Slyness is a very common characteristic among Ainu men; jealousy is recognised and frequent in women.

516 with the hands to the mouth, to be then torn by the teeth.  
 264 No forks, spoons, or chopsticks are used by the thoroughbred  
 • [177] Ainu; but Japanese influence has induced some of the more  
 civilised specimens of Volcano Bay and Piratori to give up  
 partly the use of mother Nature's forks and take to the *Hashi*  
 (chopsticks), also to adopt some ugly tin spoons as the sign of  
 their adherence to civilisation. Lastly, when asleep the Ainu  
 513 generally lie flat on the back. Sleeping on the right side and  
 resting the head on the bent elbow is also a common posture;  
 and when sleeping for a short period of time during the day  
 I have often seen men still sitting, bring up their legs, cross  
 their arms on their knees, and then rest the head on the arms;  
 thus placidly having a "nap" without waking up with a stiff  
 neck, stiff legs, and "pins and needles" in their arms, which  
 would be the sure result if the average European tried that  
 mode of repose.

Most Ainu have no bedding of any kind, and most of them  
 sleep on hard rough planks or on the ground itself. Some of  
 the people, however, sleep on bear-skins in winter, as it keeps  
 them warm, and the colder the night the closer all the members  
 of the family pack together to warm each other with their  
 natural heat. A strange peculiarity, when Ainu are asleep,  
 lying flat on their back, is, that instead of keeping both legs  
 fully stretched out, one, or sometimes both, are raised and  
 bent, with the sole of the foot planted on the ground. This  
 peculiarity is chiefly noticeable in men, and I have observed it  
 many times, especially in old people. The reason of it is this.  
 The Ainu having no pillow, the head has to be turned so far  
 back to rest on the ground itself that action at the other end of  
 the body is necessary to counterbalance the strain on the spine.  
 I came to this conclusion by being often placed in the same  
 circumstances as the hairy people themselves, when I found  
 that lying flat on my back on the hard unpillowed ground, if  
 the legs were straightened only a small portion of the spine  
 between the shoulders was supported, but by raising the legs  
 the whole spinal column rested on the level surface.

As we have now seen the Ainu asleep in a "comfortable  
 attitude," we shall leave them for the present, and I shall take  
 my readers to examine their clothes, their ornaments, and their  
 tattoos.



THE ATZIS.



ATZIS, AFTER JAPANESE PATTERN.

## CHAPTER XXIV.

### Ainu Clothes, Ornaments, and Tattooing.

THE Ainu men generally go naked in summer time, but in some parts of Yezo civilisation has forced them to adopt cheap Japanese clothes. It must not be supposed from this that the real Ainu never wear any clothes at all, for indeed on grand occasions they dress gaudily enough, but always in a rude, elementary kind of way. For winter use they sew together the skins of either bear or deer, fox or wolf, making a kind of sleeveless jacket, which protects the chest, the shoulders, and the back. Another kind of fur garment of deer-skin is longer and has sleeves, is large at the shoulders, and very narrow at the wrist, as a still further protection against the cold. This deer-skin coat is mostly worn by women as an under-garment. Besides these fur garments for winter weather, they wear the *atzis*, a long reddish-yellow wrapper, made of the woven fibre of the *Ulmus campestris*. It has sleeves similar to the deer-skin coat, only these sleeves are a great deal wider.



WINTER BEAR-SKIN COAT.

On the southern coast some of the civilised tribes have either adopted Japanese *kimonos* altogether, or make their *atsis* after the same pattern, to ingratiate themselves with their masters, on the principle of imitation being the sincerest flattery, and perhaps also because they come cheaper in the end. The *atsis* reaches below the knees, and is folded round the body. It is kept in position by a girdle or belt of the same material, or



BACK OF ATZIS.

of bear or sea-lion skin. This *atsis* is ornamented with embroidery both back and front; round the sleeves, round the neck, and all round the border, or, as we should say, hem. The embroideries are done in Japanese coloured cottons and threads. The colours are invariably red, blue, and white, on a background of this yellow *Ulmus campestris* cloth. They have the same characteristic patterns, and are identical with the orna-

ments on knife-sheaths, drinking-bowls, moustache-lifters, &c., as the readers will find in the chapter on the "Arts of the Ainu." Men and women wear *atsis* of the same shape, only those of the women are longer than those of the men, and reach nearly to the feet. Moreover, the patterns which are embroidered on the men's dresses are not considered suitable for the women's, and *vice versa*. Women—who, by the way, do all these embroideries—have to content themselves with the simplest patterns devisable—a mere thin line of blue stitches; but they give to the men a more elaborate ornament. They first sew on heavy bands of material, which then they embroider in highly complicated patterns, thus giving a much heavier and handsomer appearance to the male *atsis*. In winter the sleeveless fur jacket is sewn over the *atsis*, and, as has been said, women wear the deer-skin gown as an under-garment. Ainu embroideries vary considerably, not only in different tribes and different villages, but also in each family, according to the talent and patience possessed by the embroidress. It takes an affectionate wife a year or longer to ornament the elm-bark dress of her beloved husband, and in the case of a chief's robe the work never comes to an end, as additions are constantly made. Children have an extremely simple embroidery, when any, round the sleeves and hem of the

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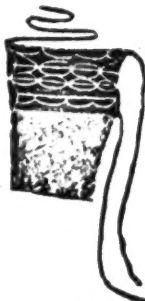
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*atsis*, but never any, simple or elaborate, either on the back or front. 291  
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I have often seen women working patiently hour after hour while sitting on the tiny door of their storehouses; and the result of their labour would be half an inch of coarse stitching, which for them was a great work of art. Most Ainu now possess needles of Japanese manufacture, but in former days they had only bone needles, and instead of fine well-dyed Japanese thread were obliged to be content with the fibre of the elm tree dyed black. The ornamentations on the *atsis* of Ainu who have no Japanese needles are necessarily a great deal coarser and simpler than those which are done with steel needles and cotton threads. The essential characteristics are the same in both. In sewing together skins for winter garments fish-bone needles are often used up to this day. [177] 294  
[283]

These embroidered clothes, when new, are only worn on grand occasions, as at a bear festival, or when paying a visit to a neighbouring village. A few rags constitute the usual everyday costume, and no difference is made between the in-door and the out-of-door clothing. In fact, most Ainu sleep in their clothes, such as they are. [513]

One article of dress which is worn by all alike, young and old, male or female, is the *hoshi*, or leggings. Like their gowns, these are sometimes made of the inner fibre of the elm-tree bark and sometimes of rushes and reeds plaited as in the ordinary rush matting. When of elm-tree bark, they are often embroidered in the upper part, as can be seen in the illustration. They are fastened just under the knee by means of the two upper strings, then wrapped tightly round the leg and bound round the ankle with the lower and longer ribbon. The Ainu go barefooted in the summer, but during the winter months, when the cold is too severe for this, they cover their feet with mocassins and long boots made of salmon-skin, and often of deer-skin. When the Ainu goes for a long journey or a hunt, during which he has to traverse rough ground, he generally protects his skin boots—the soles of which would



THE "HOSHI."

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291 soon be destroyed by the sharp stones and ice—by slipping over them a pair of thick rope sandals, which protect the sides, the back, the toes, and sole of the foot. If to this

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BOOTS TO BE SOAKED  
IN WATER SO AS TO  
TAKE SHAPE OF  
FOOT, AND TO BE  
KEPT UP WITH A  
STRING.



DEER-SKIN SHOE.

inventory be added a head-gear consisting of a band wound round the head, and an occasional apron, the whole of the Ainu

wardrobe is catalogued. This band, which is worn principally by women, is untied and removed when saluting

[576]

or meeting a man, whether on the road or in the woods. A

• [177]

Japanese towel often

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takes the place of the

native manufacture. I

am inclined to think

that this custom of covering the head has been acquired from the Japanese, as none of the Ainu of the Upper Tōkachi—the only pure ones remaining—wore anything in the shape of band or kerchief, while it is extremely common with the Ainu of Volcano Bay and Piratori to wear these unbecoming towels. At Piratori the Ainu women give a more artistic character to this ugly headgear by embroidering it in front and wearing it like a tiara. An apron is occasionally worn by Ainu, but this too, in my opinion, has been borrowed from the Japanese. Ainu clothes often get undone, owing to their shape, and therefore Ainu men sometimes wear these aprons, but rather because they are

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made to wear them than from native modesty or inclination to be commonly decent. I have seen Ainu on the north-east coast of Yezo and on Lake Kutcharo wear coarse hats of matted rushes. When laid flat, these hats have a diameter of about thirty inches; but when worn, they are folded in two, and kept in this position by a string tied under the chin and passed through the hat. They are used principally in winter as a protection against the snow. The Ainu care more to adorn

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than to clothe themselves. A few glass beads, a metal earring, a silver coin, or anything that shines, can make a man or a woman as happy as a king. Intoxicants come first of all

[573]

things, but after them there is nothing in this world that Ainu

THE TARNIA OR HEAD-BAND.



cherish more than personal ornaments, and this is, of course, 301  
 even truer of women than of men. What strikes a stranger  
 when looking at an Ainu for the first time is, as I have  
 already said, the size of their metal earrings and heavy glass  
 necklaces. As the Ainu cannot work in metals or make glass,  
 these ornaments have been purchased from Japanese, Chinese, 302  
 and Korean adventurers, and many costly skins of bears,  
 foxes, wolves, or seals are gaily bartered for a few beads,  
 worth next to nothing. The Ainu is fond of metals, but he  
 does not know the difference between one and the other. All  
 that glitters is gold for him; and if it is not gold then it must  
 be silver. Therefore some Ainu are known to have invested  
 all their fortune of valuable furs for a pair of brass earrings,  
 and, what is more, they have never grudged the bargain! Previous  
 to the importation of these worthless articles their  
 ornaments were made of wood, bone, and shells, of which  
 "survivals" are still to be seen with the Ainu of the Upper  
 Tokachi.

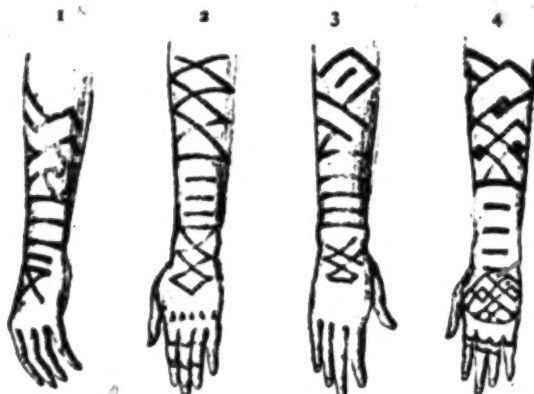
The large circular earrings are much prized: men and  
 women alike wear them. Many men, however, do not  
 wear these metal earrings, but prefer instead a long strip of  
 red or black cloth, or skin.

The lobes of the ears are frequently torn down by wearing  
 these heavy earrings from early childhood, and they know 304  
 not how to mend them by sewing them. Another hole is  
 sometimes bored in the upper and sound part.

Ainu women of civilised districts occasionally wear metal  
 finger-rings, but these are of course of foreign make, and 305  
 imported.

Ainu *menokos* (girls) seem to have no partiality for brace-  
 lets or amulets, but necklaces are the dream of their life.  
 The delight of an Ainu woman in a new necklace is in propor-  
 tion to the size and number of the beads. A woman who pos-  
 sesses one of extra large beads is envied by all her less fortu-  
 nate neighbours; and she who has several strings is at once  
 admired and hated by all the womankind of the village. 308  
 For, indeed, Ainu women are "human" enough to know  
 how to hate each other! The beads which most take their  
 fancy are the blue, black, white, or metal ones. The larger  
 beads in the necklace are in front; and the rough wooden

kobets (Tokachi River); Figs. 2 and 3 are the two arms of <sup>304</sup>Kawata Tera, a girl of Tobuts (north-east coast of Yezo); and Fig. 4 is the left arm of a girl at Piratori.



TATTOO-MARKS ON WOMEN'S ARMS.

It will be noticed that in the regions where the Ainu have come in contact with Japanese, rings are tattooed round the fingers, while the Tokachi Ainu women have none. In the two arms of Kawata Tera (Figs. 2 and 3) the dissimilarity of the two patterns is very marked at first sight, but on a close examination it is easy to perceive that the operator meant to carry out the same pattern on the right arm as on the left; only through his incapacity to reproduce correctly his former lines, or for other reasons, he got muddled up in the design, and left his work unfinished. If all the lines in the upper half of Fig. 3 were continued, the design would be very similar to Fig. 2.

Tattooing is considered an ornament, besides, as I have <sup>304</sup>already mentioned, adding the coveted air of "virility" to women. There is no religious feeling connected with it, and the practice is rapidly dying out, as the Japanese men make fun of the Ainu women, who after all only tattoo their mouths and arms, while they themselves often tattoo the whole of the body. The Ainu have no rules as to when the girls are to be operated on. They are done both before and after marriage, contrary to what has been said, that the women do not tattoo themselves

*crescendo* to give strength to the narrative, especially at the end of the tune, which invariably winds up in the tonic. The intervals which are of most frequent occurrence in the Ainu tunes are as follows:—



The tunes seldom contain modulations from one key into another, except in the case of genius-gifted improvisators, who sometimes indulge in such a luxury, especially when intoxicated; but the usual modulation is generally begun *pianissimo* and in irregular time, and is sometimes like a slow lamentation gradually and irregularly increasing in force, some notes marked violently and the next very faintly, thus giving a weird effect of light and shade. When a sentence comes to an end, there is a chromatic interval *fortissimo*, and the key-note generally concludes the tune. The melody repeats itself again in the next sentence, sometimes altering the *pianissimo* into *fortissimo*, and *vice versa*, according to the force which the narrator wishes to give to certain words. The Ainu, as far as I could judge, have no fixed rhythmical method, and each man constructs his own. Their melodies are generally short and simple, and the same phrases and passages—in fact, usually the whole melody—occur again and again in their songs. No Ainu melody that I heard was constructed according to any rule of musical form. All were invariably of one part only, in which the name of the tune was often applied to a certain form of rude poetical composition. For instance, some of the folk-lore legends—which, unfortunately, are not purely Ainu—are chanted in a musical intonation, and are a kind of extempore composition, though the roots of the songs and the verse have probably been brought down from former generations. This is proved by the preservation in them of some obsolete words and forms of speech which are never used in current conversation, and which none of the younger folks can understand or explain. I believe, however, that none of these legends are very old. The Ainu, having no written language, it is but natural that their tradition and legends should have been greatly changed and corrupted, especially by intercourse with the more imaginative Japanese.

Yoshitsune's temper was roused, and he cut the *nipesh*<sup>1</sup> 539 rope to which the harpoon was fastened. The fish went to die at the mouth of the Saru River, when plains of hemp sprouted out of its body.

Another legend, called "Kimta-na," is a rather different and more simple version of Tushi-une-pan's story which I have just related.

Yet another variant of the same legend is found in the "Inu-sapk"—or "A Summer Story," (literally translated: *Inu*, hear, relate; *sapk*, summer), which was so very confused that I could not make head or tail of its minuter details; but, like the "Kimta-na," it was about a famine in the Ainu land.

Then there was a fourth, which went by the name of "Abe-ten-rui"—"Burning to embrace," or love-sick. It was again about Yoshitsune, who had fallen in love with a pretty Ainu maid, and could not eat either good or bad fish until she appeared to him in a dream. As Yoshitsune was a strong-minded man he got over his love, and taught the Ainu not to be deceived by woman's wiles.

These and other similar legends, some of which do not bear 538 repeating, being too improper, can be collected at Piratori or on Volcano Bay from the half-civilised Ainu; but I am inclined to think that they are mostly concoctions of Japanese [177] • ideas construed or misconstrued in the Ainu language.

Ainu do not indulge in poetic compositions which have a definite metre, nor do they use special words for rhyme or rhythm; but all the words in their songs are intelligible, and seldom meaningless syllables are used, as in many of the chants of other savage nations. This of course is because, as has been said, their songs are merely a form of conversation adopted on certain occasions.

Some of their music seems to have been suggested to them 533 by such animal sounds as the plaintive howling of bears, wolves, and dogs.

Music is believed by the Ainu to have the power of curing 533 illness, or rather, of scaring away from the body those evil 755 spirits which are supposed to have taken possession of it; but, 753 when used as exorcism, the music is no longer grave, slow,

<sup>1</sup> *Nipesh*: a kind of hemp.

A high moral standard, whether got from philosophic breadth or Christian virtues, does not suit a despised barbarian race like the Ainu. Nothing could or does kill them quicker than civilisation. Experiments have been tried to civilise certain Ainu: they were made to wash, bathe, and live in comfortable, clean quarters: they were instructed and got good food; but after a few months they had to be sent back to their native place and ways, for civilisation only killed them. 177●

The half-castes have none of the good qualities of either race. They are neither as brave as the Ainu nor courteous and light-hearted like the Japanese. The following remarks, which I take direct from my diary, were written by me between Shimokebo and Tomakomai, on the south-west coast of Yezo, where many half-breeds are found along the seashore, and I shall pass them on untouched to my readers. 563 144

"The Ainu along this coast were decidedly ugly. Many half-breeds are also found along this coast. These half-breeds invariably grow bald in early life, whereas the Ainu do not. The hair on their back, arms, and legs is not so long or so thick as with the pure Ainu. Their teeth are neither so strong nor so sound. As is usually the case when a mixture of two or more races takes place, the lower and upper jaws not being of the right proportion, it follows as a matter of course that unusual pressure and friction injure and wear out the enamel of the teeth, thus causing premature decay. The Americans and Australians are good examples of this premature decay caused by the disproportion of the upper and lower jaws. Also, teeth which do not fit well together sometimes grow so long as to be a nuisance to the person who owns them. I found that these half-breeds have all the bad qualities of both the Ainu and the Japanese, and have not retained any of the good ones. They are ill-tempered, lazy, and vindictive. It is well to mention that, on the Japanese side, they have come mostly from the criminals exported by the Japanese Government, which fact partly explains why they are so evil-minded and untrustworthy. Instead of falling into the more civilised ways of the Japanese, these half-breeds prefer the wild life of their Ainu ancestors; and if anything they are wilder than the Ainu themselves. Insanity is very common among half-breeds. 563 142 563 [157] [158]

#### 4: Landor T-5 (ca. 1890) 1893 AB6 Ainu AB6

Piratori, on those of the north-east and west coasts, and the Ishikari River, as well as on half-castes of different districts, have been taken into consideration. 121

Owing to the lack of a clinical thermometer and other instruments, I, unfortunately, was not able to ascertain the normal temperature of the body; nor could I get any very accurate observations as to the frequency of the pulse-beat, owing to the miserable condition of my watch and the difficult task of getting natives to sit perfectly still while their pulse was felt. A superstitious fear, too, that some evil would befall them accelerated the pulsations, and they invariably moved away rubbing the spot I had touched on their wrist. Though I could not count the exact number of pulsations to a minute, the movement of the pulse was as a rule slow and rather weak. 147  
Respirations were fourteen to seventeen to a minute in men, and about sixteen to twenty in women, and the respiratory movements were similar in both sexes, viz., costal breathing was predominant. In half-castes I have sometimes noticed abdominal breathing. 128

The Ainu not only bear cold well, but prefer it to heat, though, indeed, their country is never very hot. The sun's rays have no fascination for them, as with so many other races; and I have seldom seen Ainu basking in the sun for purely physical pleasure, although they go about with uncovered heads, and do not seem to suffer any ill effects from the practice. The Ainu of Piratori wear Japanese hats of wicker-work; and others, especially women, tie round their head a Japanese towel—a fashion, as we have seen, also adopted from the Japanese. With this head-dress the crown of the head is left uncovered. 147

The Ainu are not massively formed, but they are sturdy, and, as we have seen, can bear almost any amount of privation as regards food and drink. Sleep is necessary to them, and they require a great deal to be in anything like good condition. The sleeping hours are generally from an hour or so after sunset to sunrise; but during the day they are often drowsy, and turn in to have a siesta after food and exercise. In men the voice is soft and deep; shriller but still gentle in women. The Ainu seldom perspire, partly because the pores of their skin are blocked with dirt; partly because their long 147



"worship." The nearest approach can be made only by 119  
 comparisons and analogies, which often lead far from the 117  
 point aimed at. Like all savages and barbarians, the Ainu  
 are more apt to answer as they think will please the questioner 123  
 than to give a definition of their own beliefs. The manner in 124  
 which a question is put gives the keynote to the reply, which  
 is in no sense an independent statement of their own thoughts.

For instance, if you were to say to an Ainu, "You are old, 124  
 are you not?" he would answer "Yes"; but if you asked the 114  
 same man, "You are not old, are you?" he would equally  
 answer "Yes." Knowingly speaking the truth is not one of  
 their characteristics; indeed, they do not know the difference  
 between falsehood and truth. This is a common failing with  
 all savages as well as with all Orientals; but with the Ainu it  
 is even more accentuated; and when, in addition to this, the  
 difficulty of making them understand exactly what one  
 means is taken into consideration, it is not astonishing that a  
 traveller arrives at a wrong conclusion if the utmost pains be  
 not taken in pursuing one's investigations.

Of course the Ainu who have come in contact with 129  
 Japanese know of a God, and some of them, at the instiga- 117  
 tion of Japanese *bonzes*, have become nominal Buddhists.  
 Benry, at Piratori, showed me a small Buddhist shrine, of  
 Japanese manufacture, which had been put up on a neighbour-  
 ing hill. All the time I stayed at Piratori I never observed  
 any Ainu worship at it. One day I saw two boys throwing  
 stones at it, but that could hardly be called an act of reverence,  
 even among my hairy friends.

On my inquiring as to the origin and use of the shrine, I  
 was told by some that it was erected to the God of the  
 Japanese. Benry, who was always "well informed," both in  
 things that he knew and those that he did not know, said that  
 it was built in honour of Yoshitsune, the Japanese personage  
 who, as we have seen, is the hero in semi-Ainu legends, and  
 whose image or spirit, according to travellers' tales, is wor-  
 shipped by the Ainu.

It always appeared strange to me that the Piratori Ainu  
 had this Japanese hero in their legends, but still more strange  
 that they should make him their deity. Yet what was most  
 singular of all was, that with the exception of Benry and a few

792 others at Piratori, no other Ainu I met in any other part of  
 793 Yezo seemed to know about Yoshitsune—or Okikurumi, as  
 he is sometimes called by them ; and, moreover, they knew  
 nothing of his doings, or of the reason of his being worshipped.  
 The Ainu of the Tokachi knew nothing whatever of this per-  
 sonage.

794 The Ainu idea of soul is always associated with "breath" or  
 795 "life;" and as for the resurrection of the body and the future  
 life of the soul, they have never even dreamt of it. Metem-  
 psychosis is equally unknown to them.

796 As my readers have seen, in the description of a burial the  
 implements and weapons which belonged to a deceased person  
 are buried with him. The articles, however, previous to being  
 thrown into the grave, are smashed to pieces ; for the idea is,  
 not that the dead body should profit by these things in the  
 other world, but that no other person should make use of what  
 811 had been his property in this. The reasoning power of the  
 Ainu does not carry him beyond what is purely material ; his  
 mind has never been trained to go beyond that limit, and he  
 finds that he can live well within it. Like all animals, he is  
 guided by his instinct, which tells him what is good and what  
 is bad for him ; but as to any attempt to find out *why* such  
 things are good or bad for him, he is utterly at a loss, and has  
 154 to give up the quest. Though not devoid of a rudimentary  
 kind of shrewdness, the Ainu is dense and ignorant to the last  
 181 degree, and just as he is reluctant to adopt new modes of  
 living, so he is unable to accept new ideas or larger thoughts.  
 797 The mere conception of a Superior Being, who is the Maker  
 of all things and above all things, is far beyond the compre-  
 hension of any Ainu. Eating and drinking are what he prin-  
 cipally lives for. He does not thirst for knowledge, nor strive  
 after the Divine ; and he has no creed of any kind and no  
 formula of sacrifice or worship, which two conditions are essen-  
 tial to even the most elementary religion.

What the Ainu do really possess in the way of super-  
 naturalism is the ordinary savage's credulous superstition, which  
 manifests itself in certain charms or fear of certain omens. How-  
 ever, after that degree they take the world as it comes. They  
 have no idea of who made it, and they are not anxious to learn.  
 The sun, the moon, bears, salmon, water, fire, mountains, trees,

582 out, destroyed by consumption, lunacy, and poverty of blood. All the members of one village are necessarily related to one another; and, as I have demonstrated in a previous chapter, this is the main cause why certain diseases are common to one community and utterly unknown to others, and certain hereditary talents or tendencies are frequent in one village and imperceptible in the next.

831 The Ainu seem to have no Platonic love; their love is purely sexual. It is not to be wondered at, in a country where marital relations are so peculiar, that very little love is felt for children beyond a certain age. The mother suckles her own child usually for seven or eight months. She can bear children till she is about thirty-five, though some who seem to be much older are still fruitful. It was difficult to ascertain this fact for no Ainu knows his own age. As far as I could learn fertility is neither hindered nor checked in any way—either by adopting a peculiar diet or by other practices. On the other hand, many a woman is sterile, and many are also affected with the most horrible of all diseases. I am inclined to think, however, that this special malady was imported to Yezo with Japanese civilisation, for it is in the more civilised parts of the Ainu country that it is most frequent.

165 There is probably no country in the world where there is so much loss of infant life due to want, accidents, and diseases, as with the Ainu. Abortion is common, owing to the severe exertion of the mother during pregnancy; and many a child dies not many days after birth for the same reason, and consequent disappearance of milk in the mother's breasts. The greater mortality of children, however, is between the age of six and ten. Only a small percentage of these poor creatures live to take part in the game of life; while many succumb to ill-treatment and the most horrible skin eruptions. Thus we have a good explanation of the frightful rapidity with which the Ainu race is fast disappearing. Naturally, those few who survive grow strong and healthy; but their great fondness for alcoholic drinks, which they can now so easily procure from the Japanese, destroys even them.

162 One is generally struck in Ainuland by the number of old men and children, and by the almost entire lack of young fellows between the age of fifteen and thirty. This is due

776 An "imported" (Japanese) deity, who now plays well-nigh  
 177 the most important part,—more in word, however, than in  
 fact,—seems to be the "master" of the sun (*chup-kamui*),  
 who, according to the present popular views, is the greatest  
 deity, lording it over all the other gods. In reality this deity  
 has little connection with every-day life. He is naturally  
 closely associated with the "master" of the gens-fire, who plays  
 a really great part.

776 Besides the principal kamui, there is a series of other, sec-  
 ondary ones. These are the kamui of the gens, such as the  
 "master" of the hut—*yurta*—(*tisse-kamui*), the grand-  
 mother or the "mistress" of the fire, and other hero-ancestors;  
 finally, numberless "masters" of individual rivulets, groves,  
 valleys, mountains, cliffs, etc. All of these are kind, beneficent  
 kamui, on whom man's whole welfare depends. They are his  
 nourishers and guardians, defenders from all evils and disasters.

But there are also beings whose special business it is con-  
 stantly to harm the Ainu, and to bring upon him disease and  
 even death. For these beings, whom commonly he does not  
 even honor with the appellation "kamui," he has no cult what-  
 ever. For them he has no offerings, no prayers, nor even simple  
 piety. With them the Ainu finds it possible only to struggle.

776 The secrets of this, so to speak, art of war, are known to the  
 756 shamans (*takusa ainu*), who play among them a rôle similar  
 782 to that among all primitive peoples, though they do not, how-  
 ever, enjoy any special esteem or influence. But the benevolent  
 deities they hold in veneration. To them long and eloquent  
 prayers are offered; with them the Ainu share their best viands  
 and beverages; and finally in their honor are set up, wherever

[778] possible, those countless objects, varied in form and size, which  
 are known among them under the name "inau."

778 2. There are inau of the most varied shapes and destina-  
 322 tions. The most common type is a small stick, skilfully cut at  
 various points into shavings in the form of curls (see Plate  
 XXXIV, Figs. 1-4). The usual material is willow-wood; less  
 frequently alder or mountain-ash may be used, according to the  
 [824] end in view. Generally the stick is first stripped of its bark,  
 and then roughly planed with a knife; but sometimes the bark

# Kinship Organization of the Saru Ainu<sup>1</sup>

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University of Missouri

114 The ethnological importance of the culture of the Ainu, perhaps overshadowed by the biological significance of this archaic Caucasoid people, has never received proper attention in Western anthropological literature. This also reflects the fact that the aboriginal culture of the Ainu, as Takakura (1960) has shown, had begun to disintegrate long before modern times. Early in the nineteenth century the Japanese government tightened its political control over the Ainu, and this policy, together with the adoption of agriculture by this basically hunting-and-gathering people, increasing intermarriage with the neighboring Japanese, and the adoption of the Japanese language for everyday conversation, so altered the Ainu culture that a study of the aboriginal conditions is now extremely difficult.

114 Nevertheless, research in all aspects of Ainu culture is being carried on—primarily by Japanese scholars. In 1951 the Japanese Society of Ethnology sent a team of anthropologists to the Saru River valley, in southwestern Hokkaido, to study the Ainu of this area, using modern anthropological techniques. This field work, in which the senior author participated, has thrown considerable light on the nature of the Ainu kinship structure, about which very little had been known. A unique feature of the Ainu kinship system which came to be understood at this time is that men trace their descent patrilineally and women matrilineally. Although this characteristic had been noted in passing by Takakura (1944: 54-55) and Natori (1945: 114), a full understanding of this unusual descent system, particularly in relation to other aspects of the social organization, had to await the 1951 field investigation. The purpose of this paper is to outline the kinship organization of the Saru Ainu with special emphasis on the nature of their descent system.

## FAMILY

594 Although the contemporary Ainu family tends to be extended, in aboriginal times the nuclear family seems to have been the preponderant pattern, with occasional coresidence of a widowed kinsman. 595 In the rare cases of polygyny, each wife, with her children, had her own dwelling.



## INTRODUCTION

648 prohibited except for those already established there. Japanese civilians were also prohibited from living outside this area in the Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with [439] the Ainu, and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, thread, lacquer ware, trinkets, etc. for salmon, skins, craft objects and certain goods from the mainland such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing.

During this period, the Ainu retained their independence. But in 1799 this part of Hokkaido was brought under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate in order to protect Japanese interests from Russian mercantile aggression. In those days, foreign vessels (Dutch, Russian, English and French) were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization in the northern Pacific became active. The Tokugawa Government became aware of the Russian colonization in the Kurile Islands (1771). A Russian ship came to the coast of Hokkaido in the hope of establishing commercial relations (1779). Thereafter, Russia sent her representatives to Japan, hoping to enter into diplomatic relations (Laxman in 1792 and Resanov in 1804). The trading stations became military posts and the Japanese established a limited administrative organization in Ainu territory, but did little to interfere in their internal affairs, except as required for defence. Trade continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae again administered the territory and continued this policy. Ainu were [464] employed by the Japanese at these coastal posts. From 1854 to 1867 the south-western part of Hokkaido was again under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate.

● 177 Before 1854 the Japanese had little effect upon Ainu culture, except in the distribution of Japanese goods. But in 1868 the island became a part of the territory of Japan, and thus began a process of Japanese colonization which greatly changed Ainu culture. Today the Ainu language is rarely spoken, and then only by the aged; pure-blood Ainu are nearly extinct; and the whole traditional economy has been profoundly altered.

648 The Japanese Government established administrative head-  
177 quarters in Hokkaido. The Ainu were included in Japanese census registers and their territory became Government property with land laws enacted to grant plots of land both to Ainu and to Japanese settlers. The Ainu were forbidden to fish for salmon or



## INTRODUCTION

to hunt deer and bear. The Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farms and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters used techniques which were more advanced than those of the Ainu. Forestry and mining undertakings were set up. As a result of these changes, the resources on which Ainu had depended for subsistence became inadequate. Game and fish resources decreased, food-collecting sites were broken up, and from 1884 onwards the Government encouraged the Ainu to take up agriculture. Each household was allotted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seed and taught agricultural techniques by specialist Japanese officials. [648 177] [657]

Before this date the coastal Hokkaido Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, but only on a small scale, and probably under Japanese influence. The cultivation of millet, the main crop, was done by women. After the snow melted, suitable plots on river banks were cleared with small wooden picks (*shittap*), and sown without ridging. Weeding was done only between sowing and harvest. Millet was harvested by cutting off the heads with a shell knife (*pipa*). The area cultivated by a household was probably between 240 and 360 square metres. When the soil was exhausted, the plot was abandoned and a new one prepared; there appears to have been no shortage of land for cultivation in this period. Once a person had cultivated a plot of land it was called 'the place which is expected to be cultivated by so-and-so'. The cultivator could control the use of the plot and the crop until it was abandoned. The cycle of shifting cultivation appears to have varied from area to area. [241 177] [184]

The more general acceptance of agriculture by the Ainu, with the encouragement of the Japanese administration after 1884, resulted in considerable displacement of traditional groupings, since these had depended on areas suitable for fishing, hunting, and collecting, rather than on terrain suitable for farming. The old food-gathering system, especially that of hunting and fishing, had been closely linked with the religious beliefs of the Ainu. So long as it remained untouched, down to 1884, the religion of the Ainu [241 177 182] [771]

<sup>1</sup> Takakura (1942) says that early Japanese documents reported this type of agriculture as practised by the Ainu in the south-western area of the island. The origin of the old agricultural system is unknown, but it may have been learned from the Japanese. The grounds for such an hypothesis are that the area is nearest to the Japanese mainland (Honshu) and that contact between the Ainu and the Japanese had been one of long duration. [175]

# INTRODUCTION

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remained intact, and the Japanese religious beliefs and practices made little headway.

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The basic social unit among the Ainu was the simple family. A group of families formed a settlement or hamlet (*hotan*): the number of families in a settlement varied from one to over twenty, but was usually less than ten. Settlements were made near rivers, and sites were usually selected for their proximity to fishing grounds, especially the spawning grounds of the dog-salmon.

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A settlement or group of settlements constituted a politically autonomous local group, the unity and integrity of which was expressed by the common ownership of salmon spawning beds and common participation in certain rituals.<sup>1</sup> Members of the local groups regarded the river valley as their territory, and had exclusive rights to exploit its resources, which they defended against the trespass of outsiders. For all economic purposes, the local group was self-sufficient.

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Among the fishing rituals practised by the Ainu the most important was the dog-salmon ritual (*kamuichep kamuinomi*). The elders of each household in the local group, owning common salmon spawning grounds, joined under their headman to perform the rites. There was a ritual to ensure the success of the coming salmon run, a first salmon ritual, and a ritual to return the spirits of the captured salmon to the land of the kamui.

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Hunting, particularly bear hunting, required strict adherence to ritual. The bear itself is a deity and the Bear Ceremony is the best known of all Ainu rituals.

London, 1956

Postscript by B. Z. Seligman

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It is well known that, from the earliest historical times, the Ainu were gradually driven north by the Japanese in Honshu. Frontier posts were established in the northern province of Mutsu to 'keep out the barbarians'. Sansom<sup>2</sup> states that in 805 a memorial to the

[613]  
[622]  
[114]

<sup>1</sup> I received the following information from Mr Watanabe after further researches in 1957: In the Tokapchi district these groups are called *shine itokpa uho kor utar* (one and the same male ancestor-mark together possessing people). Characteristics of the group are: strong group consciousness, exclusive claim to the resources of the river basin, and collective ritual. There is no single authority, at least in normal times.—B.Z.S.

<sup>2</sup> G. B. Sansom, *Japan, a Short Cultural History*, The Cresset Press, London, 1931.

# INTRODUCTION

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[412] bone implements, and made clothing of bark cloth, skins and  
[29] feathers. Barter trade with Japanese as well as Manchurian and  
[439] Siberian tribes was already established, and millet was cultivated,  
probably introduced by the Japanese.

243  
[177] Chiefs called *Kotan Korokuru* (village ruling chiefs) are men-  
tioned, but also chiefs of much larger areas, having two hundred  
or more retainers. In 1739 a Japanese record states that the Ainu  
[623] of East Hokkaido were sturdy, and apt to defy Matsumae law.

[643] It seems clear that the Japanese treated certain Ainu, whom they  
considered suitable, as paramount chiefs, but whether the Ainu  
themselves regarded these chiefs in this light is doubtful. However,  
they were able to combine against Japanese aggression in the  
serious rebellion of 1669 and again in 1789.

648  
177 Japanese policy varied from direct aggression and prohibitions  
against any kind of personal contact with the native population to  
periods of appeasement and encouragement of the adoption of  
Japanese customs by the Ainu, and even miscegenation. Coastal  
[464] trading posts were established, and Ainu fishermen were employed  
as labourers in fishing and making oilcake; they were paid in kind,  
which was barely sufficient for their daily needs. During the  
[251] periods of forced labour they were unable to preserve and store  
salmon for the winter as was their custom, so when the fishing  
season was over they were left to starve. Hunters living away from  
the coast fared better; they could supply hawks, eagle feathers,  
skins and bear liver to the Japanese without changing their mode  
of life. The encouragement of agriculture in no way compensated  
the Ainu for the prohibitions of hunting and fishing which were,  
from time to time, and in various districts, imposed upon them.

London, 1961



PLATE 1. The author with an elder wearing Japanese ceremonial robe given for services rendered early in this century.

[p. 30, (A)]

## HEARTH AND HOME

342 In the construction of the Ainu roof, the main, and so far as I can learn, unique, feature, is the pair of tripods known as stretch-in wood (*ketun-ni*). The word *ni*, which means tree or thing of wood, here indicates poles or posts.<sup>1</sup> Plate X, fig. 4, shows a rough model of the *ketun-ni*. These remarkable tripods render the roof extremely stable and are well suited to the need for a central hearth. The design of the Ainu roof is anything but primitive, and having regard to the simple materials used is the most ingenious known to me. It is stable in violent storms and has proved resistant to earthquake shocks. The high pitch of the roof prevents excessive accumulation of snow, under which I have seen Japanese roofs fall in. It bears a heavy thatch which sheds the rain. It is high enough to be almost beyond the reach of sparks and takes most of the smoke, which escapes at one or other end of the ridge. The smoke from the central hearth is, however, sometimes almost intolerable unless one is sitting on the floor. Formerly, when the Ainu owned the forests, wood was stored till dry, but now green wood is mostly used and even that is scarce.

• [177] The roof is still so highly venerated that even when a Japanese type of house is built the old-style roof is sometimes retained, though younger Ainu prefer a flat ceiling, which is more suited to the use of stoves or braziers.

[353] The dwelling-house is a single room partitioned by matting as required. Formerly there was either a built-out or a lean-to shed (*shem*) which formed a porch protecting the house entrance from direct wind and rain, and was a place for storing such things as a wooden pestle and mortar for grinding grain. Here unweaned babies were buried, and the mother's tears would fall with milk pressed from her breasts. The infant soul is still generally believed to be cared for by Kamui Fuchi until it enters its mother's womb to be reborn.

In the past Ainu houses had no doors, but in the doorways of the well-to-do a specially strong mat was suspended. The Apa-sam Kamui on either side of the entrance guarded the house against

<sup>1</sup> When hunters put up a temporary shelter they used a tripod frame over which they stretched deer or bear skins. This was also called *ketun-ni*. In legends (*uebekere*) two kinds of house are spoken of, the *yara chisei* which was covered with bark and the *poro ketunchi chisei* (large *ketunchi* house), which was covered with skins. Munro points out that this supports his hypothesis, that the tripod represents a survival of the tent of the ancient nomadic Ainu.  
—B.Z.S.



## HEARTH AND HOME

354 sacred; no one dared to spit in the ashes or defile them in any  
 776 way. It was the duty of a wife or mother to comb the ashes, feed  
 774 the fire and see that the pot did not boil over. In sitting near the  
 [462] hearth a woman should not point her feet towards it; even an elder  
 would not expose his soles to it.

354 Since nothing was allowed to contaminate the purity of the fire,  
 776 ritual impurity was avoided by making another fire at the lower  
 end of the hearth.<sup>1</sup> Kamui Fuchi delegated matters involving ritual  
 impurity such as generation, pregnancy and childbirth to Uari  
 Kamui, who was vaguely regarded as her assistant and supposed  
 to act at the lower end of the hearth. Except at a birth Uari Kamui  
 could be invoked without a fire, but Kamui Fuchi never was.  
 Otherwise there was no clearer distinction between them than  
 between Nusa-koro and Kinashut Kamui.

354 In this district there were definite positions around the hearth  
 554 assigned to members of the family and to guests of both sexes  
 according to their social standing. Customary positions are in-  
 dicated on the plan. The house-owner, as we have seen, sits at (5),  
 with his wife beside him at (6). Formerly, if he had another wife  
 she lived in a separate house. No single house, however spacious,  
 could comfortably accommodate more than one wife. Honoured  
 [574] guests could sit at the head of the hearth (7), and children at the  
 [776] side at (8). Chisei-koro Kamui stands in the north-east corner (9).  
 Among his titles is Sopa-un Kamui, He Who Resides at the *Sopa*,  
 which includes the corner and the adjoining north wall. At (10) a  
*shutu inau kamui* is often installed. In Plate XIV, which shows the  
 interior of a large house, two such *kamui* can be discerned at the  
 far end by the double sets of curled *inau*. In the corner Chisei-  
 koro Kamui can just be seen.

415 Treasured objects are hoarded on the north side in rows (11)  
 523 near the *sopa*. These include many lacquered vessels, some being  
 [353] heirlooms of superior make (Pl. XII). Probably most were obtained  
 [439] in barter or given by former Japanese masters for services rendered.  
 [177] The *shintoko* are round, square or polygonal boxes with feet and  
 lids, all lacquered, and some are old and of fine quality. Occasion-  
 ally used for cereals, beans or similar food, they were formerly  
 important at festivals as receptacles for the sacred brew. Among  
 other treasures are wooden ladles for pouring out the sacred beer

[844] <sup>1</sup> After childbirth there was a rite of removing the ashes from the hearth of  
 the house in which the child had been born.—H.W.



## HEARTH AND HOME

while straining it; lacquered feeding bowls (*itangi*); jugs of many kinds, with spouts (*etunup*); large lacquer bowls with lids, and sometimes with handles, called *patchi*; and wine cups or chalices (*tuki*) sometimes of fine old lacquer, usually with detachable stands. At festivals four of these should be placed on a tray with feet (*otchiki*), with a prayer-stick on the rim. The larger cup seen in Plate XI, fig. 5, was used for libations at the ritual salutation (*pase-ongami*) to the ancestral *kamui*. The small wooden vessel with a handle in Plate XI, fig. 4, was carved by an ancestor of my friend Mohekichi, and was valued in his family for several generations. All these objects are used in ritual. In the same figure is a *shintoko*.

Necklaces of beads (*rekutunbe*) are counted as women's treasure. They are of foreign manufacture, mostly Japanese, but some beads may be of Siberian origin. Many have pendants, probably serving as amulets. Indeed, the necklace itself is thought to have some protective influence, apart from its worth as ornament and mark of social standing. Simple ring earrings also are amulets, protecting the orifices of the ears, as tattooing the upper lip of women guards the mouth and nose against attacks of evil spirits.

On the wall behind the principal treasures are suspended swords (*emush*), quivers and sacred curled shavings. The present swords are nearly all foreign, and of soft iron, not to be compared with the tempered blades of the Japanese. For the last two or three centuries such weapons were forbidden to the Ainu, though they were allowed bows for hunting.

All are treasures in the sense that they are hoarded, but elderly Ainu distinguish between useful articles of value and what we might call fancy goods. The former are treasures (*iyoibe*), and the latter belongings (*ikoro*), of value only to the owner, but both classes have a suspicion of the supernatural about them.<sup>1</sup>

These sacred objects used to be hung on a cornice of tightly bound reeds on the north wall. The device was called either *chisei sembe* or *chisei noibe*, the heart or brains of the house. The cornice might be as much as twelve feet long, and sometimes went far enough over the corner to reach the sacred window. Most of the treasures are of Japanese make, though I possess two of rare Ainu

<sup>1</sup> The Ainu distinguished between men's and women's property—*machi-korpe* and *kuchi-korpe*. The former passed usually from father to son, the latter from mother to daughter.—H.W.

## HEARTH AND HOME

422  
[353]  
[523] workmanship, real achievements when one considers that they  
[777] were knife-worked.  
[342]

422 The *ikoro* have a value which at first sight seems fantastic. Objects  
411 that look like toy swords and imitation quivers, often strips and  
[531] tablets of wood, pass for precious things. Among them, it is true,  
[789] are iron swords, of which every man is supposed to possess at least  
one. The scabbards are often profusely decorated, some with Ainu  
and others with Japanese carving, and some have metal fittings.

[789] These swords are kept for ceremonial use. They are brandished in  
the processional dance to drive away evil spirits, which is held when  
there has been a death by drowning or other fatal accident, or when  
[755] a house has been burnt down. They are also used in exorcisms for  
disease and in mimetic and other dances. They are credited with  
great potency, and by some elders are regarded as *kamui*. Both they  
and the imitation swords usually have a broad sash attached where-  
with they are hung over the shoulder.

422 Imitation swords have either a solid scabbard or a short wooden  
789 blade. They are often adorned with small patches of tinsel or foil.  
Many of the sword and quiver *ikoro* are old, and age adds value  
[777] even to articles of poor quality. They are believed to intensify luck  
in hunting, whereby more *ikoro* are obtained by barter of skins.

This luck waned if they were seen by others, though the owner  
could gloat over them without much risk. Hence the most precious,  
*ikoro ikeu*, were also known as *mokoro* (sleeping) *ikoro*. Various  
reasons for this secrecy are alleged, such as fear of envy and dislike  
[773] of ostentation, but ideas of magic are probably strong. In legends,  
[532] the possessor of many *ikoro* adorned with tinsel was a *nishpa* (from  
*nish*, sky, and *pa*, above, chief). Imitation quivers had designs of  
sun, moon and stars carved or inlaid, and were then called *tombe*,  
shining things. The quiver, by the way, was feminine.

353 No. 12 on the plan of the house indicates the place for clothes  
342 and things under feminine control, including some things pre-  
[513] pared for the dead. The husband and wife sleep at 13 and the  
[264] children at 14. At G is the southern shining window (*itom puyara*),  
and at H the small window (*pon puyara*), near which dishes and  
other things are washed. Everyone has a bowl for personal use, and  
it is customary to clean it with the index finger, which is called the  
bowl-licking finger (*itangi-kem-ashki-pet*) or, for short, licking-thing  
342 (*kembe*).  
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Most of the southern part of the room was unoccupied except by

## HOUSE-BUILDING RITES

father or some other suitable elder. This new fire must not be allowed to die out.

The following offerings should be made: at the site of the chaff-thrown *nusa* four small winged *inau* and one backward-shaven *inau*; at that of the soul *nusa* the same, and at that of Hash-*inau*-uk Kamui four bush (*hash*) *inau*. Often four small winged *inau* are set up for Pet-Orun Kamui, and at the seaside, where fishing and the protection of fishermen and their boats are important, a *nusa* may be set up for Masara-koro Kamui, the spirit possessor of the shore just above high tide mark.

At his soul *nusa* Shiramba Kamui is asked to send a dream to the officiating elder. Kamui Fuchi is also appealed to and sometimes the other two 'important' *kamui* as well.<sup>1</sup> An elder usually allows a week to pass, during which he watches out for dreams. If there is no dream it is a good augury; if there is a bad dream—and in this connection a dream of animals, of angry scenes, or of water overflowing the site, is bad—the rite of purification (*epiru*) must be performed. In the days before the Japanese administration a new site would be selected, but today this is not often available. If, therefore, evil spirits are in possession of the site and there is no alternative, they must be driven away, and this is achieved by the purification ceremony. It seems probable that nowadays purification may be carried out as a matter of routine, even if there has been no bad augury; at any rate it is very commonly performed.

For the purification ceremony the *shutu inau kamui* called Chikube-ni Kamui, described above (Chapter IV), is made and, after prayer to Shiramba Kamui, Chikube-ni Kamui is invoked and told there is an evil spirit, and he is asked to oust it. Then the ceremony of purification by brushing out evil magic (*ukahik*) is undertaken. Two elders enter the lists against the invisible foe. One takes Chikube-ni Kamui in his right hand and a small branch of the *chikube* tree in his left, while his companion takes a branch of the same tree in each hand. Starting at the position of the future sacred window they walk slowly round the site in opposite directions, beating vigorously and uttering expostulations. The main posts of the house must be safeguarded, so the elders stop at each corner and redouble their efforts. They say no prayers but simply

<sup>1</sup> It is not clear whether these *nusa* are set up at the new plot or whether the offerings of *inau* referred to here are made at the *inau* fence of the old house. But it is probable that the latter is implied.—B.Z.S.

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## THE HOUSE-WARMING CEREMONY

secret girdle. Intermarriage with Japanese has led to some laxity of observance, but it is said to be still imperative for every true Ainu woman to wear her girdle at the ceremony of Falling Tears, and for men to wear a loin-cloth (*tepa*).

I was told that if beer is not brewed and Japanese *sake* is used in its stead the rites are curtailed and altered. In place of four backward-shaven *inau* one or at most two are set up on the hearth. No drink is taken to Nusa-koro Kamui; the elder merely stands near the head of the hearth and points the libation wand through the sacred window towards the *nusa*. The large ancestral *inau*, and the embodied *inau* with twisted or outspread shavings are not set up. There is no ritual seating (*U-eshopki*) at the sacred window. It seems, however, that in the case of a wedding some exception is made.

Without beer the full ritual salutation (*pase ongami*) is usually omitted, but if it is performed the elder outside the sacred window merely drops the libation from a little distance away, takes a sip, and hands the cup back. Similarly with other *kamui* at the *inau* fence. At the Falling Tears ceremony a few drops are sprinkled on the ground. The dead are told that brewing is 'difficult' and are apologized to, and condoled with, for having to put up with a substitute for their accustomed beer. Most of this was told me by Nisukrekuru though I had heard some of it before. It has been confirmed by several elders but there are slight differences here and there, especially since Ainu culture has degenerated.

We now return to the house warming, which is about to enter its second phase. After the service to Nusa-koro Kamui comes the formal placing of the male guests. This is important at all celebrations, for the gods are present and their worshippers must be arranged in proper order. Such arrangement is called *U-eshopki*, mutual seating. The guests sit in two rows facing each other, each sitting with crossed legs<sup>1</sup> on a mat. There is some precedence—guests of higher consideration such as the officiating elders being nearer the host. This arrangement, from the sacred window to the hearth, is shown in the plan, text fig. 4 at (2), and is quite different

<sup>1</sup> This mode of sitting is like that of the Japanese when sitting at ease. The Ainu did not adopt the kneeling posture of Japanese politeness and ceremony till recent times, and use it but little except in service to certain *kamui*. Ainu women squat sitting on the heels when out of doors, and on the floor with knees drawn up, to near the chin in the case of old women. Men occasionally squat outside, but it is correct to sit cross-legged indoors.—N.G.M.

574 THE FEAST OF ALL SOULS OR FALLING TEARS

538 small group intensely absorbed, and they have departed reluctantly  
769 well on in the forenoon. Nowadays, however, the Ainu are learning  
Japanese and forgetting their own tongue, and a decade hence  
● [177] these ancient tales, recited in the archaic rhythm that enhances  
their dramatic quality, will be heard no more.

is a description of funeral customs and rites observed at Nibutani. In other parts there are local differences, but so far as I can learn they are slight.

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### Funeral Food

With the exception of dried fish (*sat chep*)<sup>1</sup> which is specially requisite, and is often kept for funerals, the food eaten at them is much the same as for the feast which the ancestral spirits are believed to share. Now, however, some Ainu offer Japanese cakes, and fruit, and even put some in the coffin. The placing of food in the grave was not an Ainu custom. It is now usual for guests to bring food and a little money, and this mostly goes in the purchase of Japanese spirits (*shochu*). Formerly water only was the rule at funerals, and it was only on rare occasions such as the death of a village chief that a small quantity of sacred beer was brewed for the 'parting glass'. The women bring millet if they have it, *piyapa* for porridge and *munchiro*<sup>2</sup> for cakes (*shto*); this is brought unground and ground at the house of death. When an Ainu dies young or in middle age the milling goes on in silence, but when an elder or old woman dies it is thought that to sing an *upopo* cheers the departing spirit. The *upopo* of grinding is somewhat different from those sung in round dances, which are not danced at funerals.

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[533]

As soon as life is extinct food is prepared, for the deceased has eaten little during his illness and is therefore thought to be in need of sustenance. This is afforded by the essence or *ramat* of the food. Food is therefore offered to Kamui Fuchi, who sends its *ramat* to the Ancestral Host by a messenger (*shongo*). In some places the bowl of food (*pakekai*) is placed at the head of the corpse<sup>3</sup> with a single chopstick set up in the middle.

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[774]  
[782]

The near relatives, sitting on each side of the corpse, which is laid to the north of the hearth with its head to the east, eat food from two trays, each of which bears four bowls. They eat with their fingers; guests formerly did the same, but now chopsticks are

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<sup>1</sup> *Sat-chep* means literally dried fish, but is applied only to dried salmon of special quality made by a prescribed procedure. In the past its most important use was as an offering to the bear cub and for the feast in the bear cult.—H.W.

<sup>2</sup> *Panicum cruzgalli* and *Setaria Italica* (Chiri, *Classificatory Dictionary of the Ainu Language*, Vol. 1, pp. 228 and 230).—H.W.

<sup>3</sup> It is said that at the present day a wife often drinks a cup of water placed by her deceased husband's head, and that a man will do the same for his deceased wife.—N.G.M.

[178]  
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## DEATH AND BURIAL

764 provided for them. These are commonly of the cane-like reed,  
 [264] *shiki*,<sup>1</sup> and are discarded after the funeral. For funerals the normal  
 [177] manner of cutting these chopsticks is reversed.

## Family Mourning

Within an hour of the apparent cessation of life the near relatives  
 [203] and sometimes close friends are summoned. A little later the news  
 is carried near and far by messengers. This news is known as  
 'telling bad news' (*assurani* or *assuru-tasa*), and the usual title for  
 a messenger (*shongo*) is changed to 'person with bad news' (*assuru-  
 koro-guru*). At Mokoto in the north the body is not dressed till  
 near kinsfolk who may live far away have arrived; if there is stench  
 from decay, sulphur is burnt. At Nibutani the body is dressed  
 after the first family mourning.

Before the body is dressed only near relatives and an intimate  
 friend or two are allowed to see it, and these are said to share with  
 the deceased a feeling for which there is a curious phrase, *uko-  
 yai-buri-anno*, which means 'mutual embarrassment'. The living  
 have, besides their grief, an uncanny feeling at seeing the cold  
 stillness of death, and the deceased is supposed to feel embarrass-  
 ment at being unable to rise and greet his relatives and friends.  
 [195] The corpse, when dressed but before its final wrapping, is known  
 as *pone*, but in prayer to Kamui Fuchi it is called *nupe-po*, the  
 lamented, and this title is used when speaking to relatives of the  
 recently dead.

782 When the fact of death is certain, an elder, usually one of the  
 764 family, prays to Kamui Fuchi, asking her to take care of the  
 liberated soul and to afford protection during the ceremonies.  
 Before praying he attracts her attention by gently drawing a live  
 ember from the hearth. Before and sometimes during the prayer  
 he exclaims '*fu*', a call for spirit attention. He then kneels at the  
 head of the corpse and bows over it with his palms on the floor.  
 He again exclaims '*fu*', sighs and addresses the dead. His speech  
 [537] is called *pone etwe homsu*,<sup>2</sup> sorrowing over the dead body, and in it

<sup>1</sup> *Miscanthus*. For ordinary use they are cut so that the knots are regularly  
 spaced with one at the top; for funeral use the knots should be irregularly spaced.  
 —H.W.

<sup>2</sup> *Homsu* or *homsu* has various meanings, but here implies condolence or  
 sympathy. This talk to the dead person with the mouth close to his ear, as I  
 have sometimes seen it, varies in tone and content according to at least eleven  
 conditions of the deceased, including sex and age.—N.G.M.

## DEATH AND BURIAL

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[688] by most Ainu. At Njoi, a few miles from Nibutani, a man wore the clothes of a deceased person; he was the first victim of a terrible epidemic of smallpox, and this was believed to be due to his action.

Two tunics are put upon the corpse. The first is adjusted to the body, but with the right side folded over the left, the reverse of the customary style for both men and women. The second is laid over the body with the back lying over the chest. Although men usually sleep with the tunic laid over the chest, nobody would ever wear a tunic in this way, and if a child were to put on his tunic back to front he would be severely scolded. Some mourners return from a funeral with their tunics inside out. A tunic for the dead ought to be a *kapara amip* with white embroidery,<sup>1</sup> as used on ceremonial occasions. Bright colours are prohibited.

[531] Trinkets, except earrings actually in their ears, were not usually buried with the dead. A necklace of beads (*tamasai*) was put on and left till the body was about to be buried.

[482] Of three articles specially prepared for the dead the most significant is the *tara* or headband for supporting burdens on the back.

The ordinary one has four cords joined to one, but this one has only three. Leggings and mittens (*hosh* and *tek-un-be*) are made and kept for the dead. The former used to be made of bast fibres

[287] from a lime tree or of deer-skin, and the latter of some kind of fur;  
[177] for many years both have been made of Japanese cloth, mostly  
[531] cotton. All that I have seen are embroidered in black and white.

[286] Lastly there are two special cords. The first, *utoki-at*, is plaited of black and white strands of hemp. It is used to lace up the mat which was formerly always, and is still sometimes, used instead of a coffin to contain the body. The second, *para-muriri*, also of hemp (*hai pungara*, *Celastrus orpiculata*),<sup>2</sup> is also plaited, sometimes of black and white strands and sometimes of white only. This cord is tied to the mat-enclosed corpse and then to the carrying-pole (*chito-ma-ni*)<sup>3</sup> from which it is suspended on the way to the grave.

[184] <sup>1</sup> This applies to some districts such as Yakumo and Chikapumi. In others the same *kapara amip* was used for all ceremonies. Munro does not mention the sandals (*shianbappu-keri*) specially made for the dead (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

[824] <sup>2</sup> These cords were usually made from *Urtica takeda* or *Laportea bulbifera* (Natori, *Whale Hunting by the Volcanic Bay Ainu*, Sapporo, 1945, p. 154).—H.W.

<sup>3</sup> This term means 'dreadful tree' and is another name for the grave-post. The carrying-pole is usually called *ot-ami-ni* (cf. Tosabayashi, *Japanese Journal*

## DEATH AND BURIAL

764 (Pl. XXV) after weeping at the feet of the corpse. When this  
 [576] ceremony is finished all wash their hands outside and the funeral feast begins.

[534] The important mourners sit in order along the north wall, and this arrangement is called *pone kiri-samta u-eshopki* (beside the body mutually seated). At the head of the hearth are a few elders

[782] specially chosen from the village of the deceased, with elders from other villages opposite. Libations are made to Kamui Fuchi, Nusakoro Kamui and Chisei-koro Kamui, all with libation wand lowered. This is a slight reversal, except for Kamui Fuchi whose wand is usually lowered. The cup is passed from north to south, the reverse

[782] of the ordinary custom, and the wand on its rim is pointed not towards the receiver but to the one who hands it. All guests before

[262] drinking point the wand down to give a drop or two to the floor, formerly of earth. The viands, consisting of stew, millet cakes, etc.,

[177] and now rice and often cheap Japanese sweetmeats, are set on trays with short feet (*otchike*) near the lower hearth. Nowadays *shochu* is

[178] offered to all the men and a little to the women, with resulting

[273] intoxication and deterioration of ritual observance. The manner of drinking, however, involves three instances of reversal which should be noted.

764 At the funeral feast for an elderly person an elder may dance a  
 264 *tapkara*, which is considered pleasing to the *ramat* of the deceased. A joyous atmosphere is quite proper, but if the deceased is young such behaviour would be considered most unseemly. The elder takes care to dance with his back to the corpse.

[782] The feast includes the presentation to the deceased of a tray with bowls of food taken from the hearth and therefore given by Kamui Fuchi. Relatives sitting beside the corpse and the elders near it partake of food which has been offered to the head of the corpse, all eating with their hands. For a man, or an old woman

[276] who likes a whiff of tobacco, a lighted pipe is often placed in contact with the mouth of the corpse.

764 Before the feast begins, Kamui Fuchi's permission is asked to eat it, and when it is finished the elder at (d), who is usually a relative, makes a brief address to Kamui Fuchi. He then proceeds to the head of the corpse, weeps with his hands on the ground and

[537] delivers the address to the departed, known as *piyo-itak-kote* (put in last words). This varies with the age, sex and standing of the individual, but it is usual to congratulate the old and commiserate

## DEATH AND BURIAL

Other differences are as follows. Dried fish, an essential funeral food at Mokoto and Pihoro, is not eaten at Shiranoka. Food is not offered to the corpse but placed on the hearth, and the deities Abe-ochi Ekashi and Fuchi Kamui and the spirits in Pekere Moshiri, called lighted world by Monkaro Ekashi, are relied on to provide it. Some stitches are removed from the garment for the corpse and only one knot is permitted in fastening it. A black-and-white mourning cap is fastened with wooden buttons which are broken. The mat is fastened after lacing with arrow-shaped buttons. They differ slightly according to sex and are probably intended as amulets for the dead. All grave-goods are broken at the grave. The sword, damaged or broken, is tied in the burial mat reversed, that is with the handle towards the feet. A Japanese sword-guard (*tsuba*) is sometimes placed with the corpse of a woman to give her strength and courage in her new surroundings. The common meal is eaten after the corpse has been laced up in the mat. Two women with garments reversed take food left over from the common meal and leave it on the ground at a safe distance from the house on the way to the grave.

The body is taken to the grave feet first. It is usual to halt occasionally and sprinkle some of the water, carried for the grave-post rite, near the head to refresh the departed. The grave-post is called 'wood person' (*ni-kuru*). At Pihoro the carrying-pole is usually set up in place of the grave-post, which was formerly reserved for Ainu of special standing. The forms of the posts differ from those in the south. The top of the male post resembles the letter Y, with a string of black cloth attached to one arm. Below there is carving and, it is said, an ancestral mark. The top of the female post is like the letter T, with two strips of cloth and no carving. Huge carved posts were formerly in vogue at Moshoto and other places in the north.

The grave is called earth-boat (*toi-chip*), a name which may be associated with myths of spirit boating in the heavenly river. Earth is heaped at the edges of the grave with branches and brambles to protect it. Relatives and mourners each throw in a handful of earth, and this is called earth scattering (*toi-charapa*). The farewell address here is given at the grave.

Near relatives returning from the grave with garments reversed take them off and shake them thoroughly outside the house, but don them again in the reversed manner. Rennuikesh says that

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Mr. Sugiura

## SOCIAL ORGANIZATION

428 states that the ability to become a midwife or a *tusu* (diviner) is  
 [759] inherited in the matrilineage. Of male property (*maeni-korpe*) the  
 [791] eldest son inherits the house and yard. The family treasures go to  
 [611] sons but Munro does not state how they were divided among them.  
 According to Mr Sugiura, if there is no son to inherit the *maeni-*  
*korpe* it goes to a son-in-law or a stepson.

769 Before examining the evidence for patriliney and its relation to  
 [554] ancestor cult the meaning of the word *ekashi* must be considered.  
 [192] It is a title of respect, and in ordinary use refers to an elder. But it  
 also means ancestor, as is clearly seen in the term *ekashi-ikir*.  
 Munro translates the title Kamui Ekashi as Divine Ancestor. The  
 [764] *ekashi nusa* outside the house is the place where it was customary  
 to bury elders of repute, and it is there that the ancestral cult is  
 held at the Shinurapa Ceremony. Members of the household and  
 honoured guests belonging to other *ekashi-ikir* may also make offer-  
 ings to their ancestors. The householder's wife performs her ritual  
 to her ancestresses and is followed by other related women who  
 make their special offerings. Mr Kubodera says that the women who  
 may take part in this rite, worshipping their respective ancestral  
 lines, are the mother of the householder, his father's mother, his  
 own wife, and the wife of the eldest son. Each of these women may  
 be accompanied by a group of women in her own matrilineage.  
 These visits are reciprocal, the women of the household being  
 invited to Shinurapa held at all the houses of their female guests.

The Ainu had no family names before the Japanese introduced  
 compulsory registration; most of the names adopted were Ainu  
 place-names, often mis-spelt or altered by Japanese officials.

Munro found that, even among the elders whom he knew well,  
 there was great reticence in speaking of the ancestors; their names  
 were not even mentioned in their special worship. In the past there  
 was a taboo on the names of the dead; in the large number of  
 names recorded in marriages by Munro there were no repetitions.  
 Names were usually descriptive epithets, references to current  
 events or what might be termed nicknames. It would seem, how-  
 ever, that this taboo is still respected. Despite the vagueness of the  
 information, Munro was impressed by the importance of the ances-  
 tor cult, especially as seen in the House-Warming Ceremony and  
 the Shinurapa (Chapters VII and VIII). It might have been con-  
 sidered that the apparent lacunae in the account of an ancestor  
 cult throughout this book marked a breakdown of the Ainu social



## APPENDIX II

796 dwelling. The post to which the bear will be tied is firmly fixed in the  
 782 ground and garlanded with evergreens, signifying immortal life. Offer-  
 [824] ings of curled shavings and *inau* are prepared to please the spirits. The  
 elders set up the offerings and all benevolent gods are petitioned to  
 come and bless the festival with their presence.

[177] Inside the house, vessels of Japanese lacquer with food and drink are  
 [415] set out. The walls are covered by mats of sacred design. On them hang  
 [778] ceremonial swords. Women prepare skewers on which the smaller millet  
 [353] cakes will be threaded. Children then carry them to the place of the  
 [411] Great Offering—the place where the head of the slain bear will be  
 raised. (See Pl. XIII, Figs. 1, 2, 3.)

When preparations for the feast are almost complete, soup is boiling,  
 796 the millet beer brewed, the host begins to receive the first guests. Out-  
 825 side the hut, sightseers who have come from many miles away have  
 782 gathered to watch the ceremony. The bear, which will be killed ritually,  
 [574] is still in the cage which has housed it since it was caught as a cub. It  
 has been kindly treated with the reverence due to a god during its cap-  
 tivity and is half tame. An elder offers prayer and drops of drink to the  
 bear *kamui*. Now he must be brought out. Noosed from above and  
 secured by strong but flexible cords, the bear is taken from the cage  
 through a hole made in the floor. Roaring, but more astonished than  
 ferocious, the bear is guided towards the scene of its death. The Ainu  
 believe that the bear must now be made happy, and it is goaded to run  
 about outside in the courtyard. Branches of fir tree brush away evil  
 influence. Songs are sung and the traditional rhythms are strictly ad-  
 hered to.

[824] After the bear has been paraded for some time, some of the men shoot  
 [983] specially decorated arrows at it; these are without points and do it no  
 [533] harm. Then the bear is tied to the centre post. A bowman, selected last  
 in the proceedings, lest evil overtake him, prays for the quick and early  
 dispatch by the real arrow which he will fire. A shot or two by bamboo-  
 pointed arrows are considered the proper way to free the spirit from  
 the body. The sacred blood must not touch the soil, but pure snow does  
 not contaminate it. An elder prays for the welfare of the departing spirit.  
 The passing of the spirit is signalled by the flight of magic arrows over  
 the place of the Great Offering, and are then eagerly raced for by boys.  
 The bear, though dead, is now ceremonially strangled between two  
 poles. This ritual imitation of strangling is performed in compliance  
 with ancient custom, and here passes into burlesque or buffoonery, per-  
 haps relieving the tension which has been built up during the preceding  
 death of the bear and the release of its spirit.

On this occasion, the ceremony being performed for a she-bear, the  
 body is decked with a necklace, the spirit is gratified by salutations, com-



/768 cont. /

844 When the mother has  
 853 no nourishment for the child during an extended period of time  
 [292] her breasts are tied by means of a sling of soft cloth to prevent  
 [298] them from moving to and fro or from flopping down. They also  
 smear the breasts with the white sap of a plant called to pe kara  
kina, that is, "a milk-giving grass." Women who possess in-  
 sufficient nourishment are very rare among the Ainu, according  
 to their own claims. Ordinarily the Ainu women have more  
 milk than the child needs, and I have repeatedly seen women  
 doing away with part of their nourishment or feeding two chil-  
 dren with it.

Miscarriage.

843 I have heard from several Ainu men and women that mis-  
 carriages are very rare with them.

843 For two years (1903-1904) I myself closely observed all  
 114 changes in the population on the eastern shore of Sakhalin  
 Island and noted down two cases of miscarriage in 1903 (one  
 of a 29-year old woman in the eighth month of pregnancy;  
 another of a 24-year old woman in the sixth or seventh month  
 of pregnancy. Both bore normal, living children one and one  
 half years later). In 1904 I noted down one case of miscarriage  
 (with a woman in the ninth month of pregnancy). In these  
 [163] villages there were in the years 1903-1904 a total of 25 births,  
 and 147-155 women capable of bearing children. Among the  
 latter I count all women above the age of 15 and below 51.

843 The Ainu do not know that a miscarriage ensues if one of  
 164 the parents has syphilis. One of the miscarriages mentioned  
 177 above can be ascribed to this cause (the father was syphilitic).

I have no exact knowledge of conditions on the western  
 shore of Sakhalin Island. It is possible that miscarriages are  
 more frequent there since the inhabitants of those regions are  
 exposed to syphilitic infection through Japanese workers who  
 come to Sakhalin for fishing.

843 The Ainu themselves explain the causes of miscarriage in  
 753 the following manner:

1. If the husband has an abscess on his penis which refuses  
 to heal, this is not considered as a disease; as long as the man  
 does not keep /769/ his defect a secret and tells his wife and

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843 her relatives about it, no miscarriage will take place.

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2. If the woman falls during her pregnancy and receives a severe shaking, miscarriage will occur.

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After seven lunar months of pregnancy the woman should avoid frequent intercourse with her husband since during this time the male semen might get into the eyes and mouth of the fetus, and the child would thus see badly. They tell of new-born children who have so much white slime in their mouth which, like male semen, is called (owembo), that it cannot be removed fast enough from their mouth and they die by suffocating from it.

[845]

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Following parturition intercourse is not allowed for from 30 to 40 days.

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A typical idea of the Ainu is that conception is not brought about by having intercourse just once or twice. The child, they think, is the fruit of repeated coitus, and for that reason it is considered harmless by the Ainu women to yield to a man once or twice. They only fear the consequences of an extended love affair.

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Among the Ainu, much more frequently than among the Gilyak, miscarriages are induced artificially. The life of the latter is much more normal in the framework of traditional customs, whereas that of the Ainu on Sakhalin Island has been influenced for two centuries by a powerful external factor, that of the Japanese. These interfere to an enormous extent in the life of the Ainu, they change it and import elements that are not exactly instrumental in furthering culture. Especially the women stand under the influence of foreign men who are only interested in satisfying their sexual urge. Hence stems the large number of secret affairs that Ainu women have with foreigners, and it gives rise to the type of women who are given to an only slightly veiled form of prostitution. In both cases they purposely avoid pregnancy and apply all methods to remove it in case it accidentally occurs.

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The most commonly used method for this, long known to Ainu women, is pressing the abdomen with the hands or some

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[84] told me about it did not know its name. I was not so well acquainted with the women of these regions that I could have openly discussed such a delicate topic with them.

[83] Artificial abortions were, according to what the old Ainu tell, already known in the distant past, since girls enjoyed absolute freedom in sexual intercourse, but were ashamed, or refused, to bear children before marriage. It is possible that at that time other means were also used to get rid of the fetus.

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177 Now the women use primarily Japanese methods, which are being introduced by the workers and officials of the fisheries that are spread over the entire southern coast of Sakhalin Island. But I was unable to find out anything concerning these methods from the fishermen whom I questioned. Perhaps I encountered people who really had no conception of these matters. Or they probably avoided discussing them with me on purpose since they

[648] knew that the new Japanese penal law prosecutes severely all manipulations that are designed to decrease the birthrate. I learned, however, from a more intelligent Japanese, that [824] saffron, which grows wild on Hokkaido Island, is regarded as a very sure remedy. It is highly probable that in Japan many methods are used, in view of the fact that in that country the custom of preventing and interrupting pregnancy is very widespread. Even the Ainu women believe in these sisiām kusuri (Japanese remedies), but they seldom betray their secret which they received on the condition of silence.

845  
847 Twin births. Among the Ainu the birth of twins has the same superstition attached to it as among the Gilyak. One of [842] the two is considered of definite diabolic descent since in their opinion man can only fertilize a woman with one child. Such an attitude to two simultaneously born children might lead one to suspect that the Ainu would try to rid themselves of the diabolic breed. I was however unable to find any basis for the suspicion that they have the custom of killing one of the twins. On the other hand, in the book of a Russian traveller of the beginning of the 19th century, Krashenninnikov, such a custom is mentioned, though, in fact, as being current with the Ainu of

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845 the Kuril Islands. But I have the following reasons for main-  
847 taining that even today the Ainu are in the habit of killing  
their twins.

1. Their conviction that of twins always only one remains alive, namely that one, which is of human descent. The deceased twin is of devilish origin.

2. The Ainu family's fear of bringing up the child descended from the Evil One and the continuing disgrace of the mother in the view of her acquaintances. This feeling of disgrace is so strong that I had extraordinary difficulty in obtaining any kind of information about the mothers who had borne twins. Only such people who were in no wise related to their families or who even felt hostile to them, dared to point them out to me.

[124] 3. Finally the circumstance that during my stay among the Ainu not a single living pair of twins was to be found, although I managed to obtain information about two grown-up women of whom both, as sole survivors, belonged to different pairs of twins. In 1902 a woman in a village known to me recovered from the birth of twins which, however, died immediately.

These grounds for believing that even today the Ainu kill one of the twins could at most be weakened by a single tradition on this topic. I was told that twin brothers who remained alive and whose parents succeeded in bring them up, were favorites of fortune and particularly capable in hunting. It is [177] however possible that this tradition is of Japanese and in fact later origin, since it was unknown to many. Others maintained, for instance, that among the Ainu, as among the Japanese, only the younger brother is courageous, strong and happy. The older is, they say, in no respect different from the average member of his tribe.

845 The Ainu, like the Gilyak, try equally hard to protect  
782 themselves from the repetition of such a misfortune by sacrifices  
778 and prayers. In the south of Sakhalin Island for instance, they  
184 hang, in honor of the gods and spirits, the usual sacrificial  
789 object, the intricately carved stick (inau), over the bed of a  
[177] mother of twins. In the northern villages they attach, apart

Gilyak RX2

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532 it is interesting to compare the shape of the bear vessels with  
825 the ritual vessels, used by the Nivkhi for "feeding the sea."  
The latter type (which in our opinion, is more archaic) in the  
main also consists of vessels in the shape of a bird, sometimes  
complicated by symbolic decoration (vessels with two bird  
heads with long interwoven necks, etc.).

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The expedition also gathered valuable, and by now  
"archeologic" in their origin, collections of the items of the  
Ainu art: The compulsory Japanization of the Ainu shows it-  
self strikingly in the loss by this people of their own national  
culture, so that we did not find anything characteristically  
Ainu in their homes, dresses, and household utensils. It was  
only in the neighborhood of the Ainu settlements, at the old  
worship places--inau-kah--that we found ancient Ainu utensils  
and objects used in religious ceremonies and that had been  
preserved in these places since the time when the Ainu cele-  
brated the bear festival. Especially interesting findings were  
made by us near the settlements of Niita and Sirokhan. Of  
greatest interest among these findings are the sculptured  
representations of bears, bears' heads and especially snake-like  
representations with the head of the bear all dug out from  
under the roots of trees, together with hard-to-recognize,  
twisted and interwoven pieces of roots also ending in bears'  
heads. The figures found were apparently wrapped up in  
pieces of bear fur and tied up with strings of bast. /The re-  
mainder of this article is in the Ainu Files only/. This is  
evidenced by bits of hair adhering to representations and by  
soft lumps of the remnants of string, in which the dug out  
figures lay. Some of the samples have fully preserved their  
dress (drawing 3, a). Our informer Sirokava (a 65 year old  
Ainu from the Sirokam settlement) told us that similar repre-  
sentations were kept in every Ainu home, and that after a  
successful hunt a new string was tied up to the bear's figure.

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/35 contains photographs. / 36 /

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All the representations are made of the larch roots, and  
the craftsmen seem to have intentionally used various twist and



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173 occasionally, the inhabitants of the island at that time were not afraid of snow and sought shelter under the trees. They hunted different game by catching it with their wings. No animal could escape them. But they killed so many animals living on land and sea that God decided to punish them for that and took their wings from them. In my opinion this legend /328/ shows pretty clearly that the Ainu formerly lived in tropical countries.

About these winged men there is still another story: A flock of swans flew over their heads to the north and then again back south and called very softly ko-ko-ko! One of the men envied them for it and asked them to take him along. He said that he, too, had wings but was dying from boredom since he always had to sit in one spot. The swans took him up and he flew away with them. Ever since, each spring and fall when the flock of swans passes by, one hears the low voice ko-ko-ko of the flying man.

The Ainu of Sakhalin tell about a people Koropok-un-ku that lived under the broad leaves of the Ruwe kina (*Petasites japonica*), always six people to a leaf. But all the Ainu asserted unanimously that these small people lived on the island Hokkaido, not on Sakhalin.

From the Ainu living on Hokkaido I heard stories about the Tonchi twice: Once, in the village of Sirawoi not far from Mororan, I asked the inhabitants whether they had pipe-bowls made out of stone such as many I had seen on Sakhalin. But they answered that this was probably Tondzin kamui korope, i.e. a thing used by the Tonchi and was not found on Hokkaido. Also on Sakhalin the Ainu told me that [17] these pipe-bowls made from stone (*suma kisiri*) had been wrought by the Tonchi and were the only objects originating with the Tonchi that [115] were used by the Ainu. Another time Penri, the oldest man in the settlement of Piratori, who was known to many travelers, told me about the Tonchi. He said that they were a people living beyond the sea in the country of Sianta. The Tonchi had never lived on Hokkaido, but the Ainu brought objects made by them from Sakhalin to Soya. In the seventies Penri went to Sakhalin fishing with an expedition composed of Ainu and Japanese and exchanged his sword for that of one of the oldest tribesmen of the village of Rure. For his Japanese sword that had cost ten yen he received a Tonchi sword which in turn he handed over to another Ainu. Generally there are few Tondzin



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- 172 3. Near the village Slawo on the road that leads out of the Russian settlement into the Gilyak settlement of the same name the inhabitants found a stone ax which they handed over to the superintendent of the property, E.K. Bezais. 4. Close to the Russian village Ado-Tym on a hillock (according to Gilyak information).

174 As proof that the unknown tribe of the Tonchi actually lived on Sakhalin some time ago and should not be mistaken for the Ainu tribes I mention the following:

It is taken for an absolutely established fact that the Ainu at a time populated all the Japanese islands, but then were pushed north by the ever growing number of Japanese, mostly to the Island of Sakhalin. It is improbable that in their migration to the north the Ainu came into regions that had never been inhabited by people before. Still less probable is the assumption that the Ainu, without being harassed by anybody, of their own free will had occupied simultaneously two such disparate regions as the hot, luxuriant Japan and the dark, gloomy, and cold Sakhalin. On the contrary, in spite of the firm assertion of the Ainu that they had come to Sakhalin from Hokkaido which had formerly been inhabited by them, many circumstances prove that the immigration of the Ainu from southern countries into the severe northern district of Sakhalin must have taken place

[94] not so long ago. The language of the Ainu, like the Japanese, is rich in vowels which are pronounced clearly and distinctly and communicate to the language a melodious sound. This is typical and characterizes the languages of all the southern people who are not only very receptive to outward impressions but who also try to express their sentiments vividly. Further proof of the southern origin of the

[29] Ainu is their national costume. A long gown open on breast and neck with wide, short sleeves indicates that the frosts and cold winds of

• [77] Sakhalin were unknown to the ancestors of the Ainu. The Gilyak told me one of their legends that relates how greatly astonished their people were at the lack of trousers in the dress of the Ainu when they first met them, and that this piece of clothing was only later taken over by the hairy Southerners, who thereby tried to imitate the Gilyak.

177 Everything connected with the use of sleds, which is completely  
493 unknown to the Ainu on Hokkaido, was taken over by the Ainu on  
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174 Sakhalin from the Gilyak. This is proved by the completely identical  
 177 shape of their sleds and the same type of dogteams. Also the generally  
 179 worn winter clothing, a wide fur made from dogskins, has been adapted  
 181 from the Gilyak costume. But it is also possible that the Ainu ad-  
 183 vanced into the northern region of their present quarters at a time  
 185 when their culture had not gone beyond the stone stage and that they  
 did away with their stone tools only after they had become acquainted  
 with iron. This possibility cannot be eliminated. On the other hand,  
 it is very difficult to ascribe all the remains of subterranean huts, all  
 the stone tools and potsherds which are being dug out on Sakhalin in  
 such great numbers to the Ainu. One would first have to know when  
 and for what reason the Ainu failed to engage in the art of pottery.  
 In his excellent book L. Schrenk surmises that the Gilyak, having  
 learned the art of pottery from their more civilized neighbors not very  
 long before, had given it up again under the hostile influence of the  
 Manchurian-Chinese government; but he also affirms that this industry,  
 mentioned also by Mamia Riiso, had nothing in common with the  
 clay fragments around the Tonchi caves on Sakhalin. These fragments,  
 the eminent scholar tells us, originated in such bygone days that they  
 have no more ethnological connection with the present.

It is easily understandable that the Ainu, who had constant feuds  
 with the Tonchi, did not want to learn a craft from them, including  
 pottery.

In a very different manner the relationship between the Ainu on  
 the Kuril Islands and the unknown inhabitants of these islands in the  
 Stone Age could develop, since there the Ainu could learn the manu-  
 facture and use of clay vessels from their predecessors. The young  
 Japanese scholar R. Torii mentions this in his book Tsisima Ajnu.  
 But we do not know anything definite about the time of the Ainu mi-  
 gration from Hokkaido to the Kuriles and Sakhalin. We only know  
 that the emigrants parted company and gradually forgot all about their  
 companions from whom they did not hear again. Only much later  
 did they learn from the Japanese and Russians that to the west of the  
 former and to the east of the latter their kinsmen had settled. This  
 situation explains the impossibility of concluding on the basis of the

Contact between the Ainu and the Japanese, their southern neighbours, is of long standing<sup>175</sup>, and for a considerable period the life of the Ainu had been subject to Japanese influence through what was called the "basho" or district system that lasted from before 1789 to 1869<sup>176</sup>. In 1868, Hokkaido came under the administration of the Japanese Government: the island became a part of the territory of Japan and colonization was started.<sup>177</sup> With this began a process which greatly changed Ainu life, so that today the Ainu language is rarely spoken and then only by the aged; full-blood Ainus are about to be extinct; and the whole system of their subsistence has been profoundly altered. The most sudden and significant change in their mode of life happened in 1883 when the new Government started carrying out its programme of encouraging the Ainu to take up farming<sup>178</sup>. The object of this paper is the Ainu as they lived their autonomous life in the last phase of the intermediate period between the abolishment of the "basho" system and the introduction of new life based on agriculture<sup>179</sup>.

#### The Aim and Method.

The Ainu have interested many students concerned with the origins of this ethnic group, their customs and artifacts as well as their bodily features. The result has been listings of patterns of those elements and mappings of their distributions, but little has been known about the process of their life, that is, how the Ainu have lived and are still living in the fields. To take an example, although the Ainu is described to have been a gathering people with no necessity of nomadic wanderings (HABARA, 1937, pp. 73-74, quoted from *The Aborigines of Hokkaido* published by Hokkaido Government; Note 40), scarcely anything has been investigated about how they maintained a settled life and in what conditions and with what effects, even the ascertainment alone of which may be of theoretical significance.<sup>180</sup>

Man is a unique animal with unique properties; yet he remains part of the biotic world and his life process at any level of organization, whether at that of the cell, the individual or the group, is nothing but a part of nature. This paper deals with the Ainu not in terms of the types of implements and customs but of a life process functioning on a system of activities incorporating these means and mechanisms. The life process as such should be understood in the context of habitat, the place of abode, because no organisms can function apart from it. On the other hand, their activities should be understood in terms of the contribution to maintenance of the individual, the group and the species because this is what the students of organisms consider as the end or purpose of life process in general. From this point of view the present writer has attempted to analyse the modes and arrangements of Ainu activities with reference to their habitat and their group.

The date chosen for the study is that immediately preceding the period of great changes brought about in their group life by Japanese interference or the introduction of new farming system under Japanese guidance and superintendence, following the agricultural-land allotment programme, and the free distribution of farming tools and plant seeds by the Japanese government. Although varying to some extent in different localities in Hokkaido, the period dates after 1883 (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-488; Note 10); in the Tokapchi valley it dates from 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma valley from 1888 (A Chronological Chart of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). With this date as dividing line, there occurred throughout Hokkaido wholesale migrations of settlement groups with attendant dispersions and aggregations. As far as the present study is concerned, for instance, the Nitmap group on the river Tokapchi moved from their old home to a new site allotted downstream; the Ainu on the Otopuke, tributary of the Tokapchi, were suddenly transformed from their entire gathering life to a new farming life. This visible and sudden change brought on the Hokkaido Ainu was imprinted in the memory of those who experienced it as an epoch-making event in their life histories, the fact which enabled the writer to segregate data pertaining to the Ainu groups prior to the transition. As a necessary procedure to studying groups at the given time horizon, it was important to get into contact with informants who have either experienced the life of the groups themselves as members thereof and also are competent to supply information of that life. Three Ainu informants to satisfy these conditions were made available to the author: Ushintasan (Yoshimura by Japanese family name; female, native resident of Tonika on the river Azuma; died in 1954), Ushino (Kachikawa by Japanese family name; female, native of Nitmap on the river Tokapchi and resident of Memroputu) and Kazari (Hosoda by Japanese family name; female, native of Rucha on the river Otopuke and resident of Otopuke).

It must be remembered that the simple fact that an informant belonged to a group at the given date is no guarantee for his or her information pertaining to the particular group at the particular time horizon. With a view to restricting the information sought to the desired group at the desired date, interviews were conducted by focusing on the visible and concrete activities of that group to which the informants belonged at the date. This means indirect observation by which the investigator may examine indirectly to some extent the actual and concrete workings of the group through descriptive information about the actual daily behaviours and activities of the informant himself in the group and of his fellow members and neighbours. From this concrete but fragmentary information the investigator may extract relations existing between those activities. This process was of particular

1. [Errata: the word "programme" should read "programme".

^ Cf. errata sheet, p.164-A--Analyst]

2. [Errata: the word "data" should read "date". Cf. errata sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]

222 of the kind which was believed to be best for arrow poison were localized  
 314 in their occurrence (p. 66). The four types of land cited above were invariably  
 311 distributed along any river, so that almost all necessary collecting was usu-  
 [484] ally done within a short radius of the *kotan*, or within a day's trip and back  
 at the most. In the case of these particular species that were necessities  
 and that could only be found a long way from their homes, expeditions were  
 [462] sent out. The task of getting almost all edible plants, as well as varieties  
 [551] for raw materials, was undertaken by women and children.

#### Cultivation of Plants.

241 Before the land-allotment to the Ainu by the Japanese Government (Notes  
 • [177] 9 and 10), the Ainu in the Otopuke valley and a half of the member house-  
 [184] holds of the local group in Kuttaraushi who lived furthest upstream on the  
 Tokapchi and at least a household in Pipaushi further downstream, had done  
 no farming, but other Ainus in the Tokapchi valley as well as, for instance,  
 [462] those in the Azuma valley, had done some small-scale farming<sup>19)</sup>. The old  
 techniques were simpler and the farm work was usually performed by women.  
 The main crops were a variety of *Panicum Crusgalli*, *piyapa* or *ayushi amam*,  
 [221] and a variety of millet, *amam* or *toita amam* or *munjiro*. Preparation of  
 field and sowing were done in July after storing of chief varieties of edible  
 [412] leaves was finished. Suitable plots on the river bank near their settlement  
 were cleared and levelled with small wooden picks, *shittap*, which were also  
 used for digging up roots and plants. Some families on the Tokapchi used  
 a kind of sickle besides the above-mentioned implement. After the plots  
 were prepared, sowing followed without making any ridges. Weeding was  
 [412] done only once or twice between the time of sowing and the harvest. The  
 [237] crops were harvested by picking ears with an implement made of a molluscan  
 [221] shell collected in the river, dried and stored. These jobs were done during  
 the period between the last part of September and the middle or last part  
 of October. The area cultivated by an average household in Azuma, Saru,  
 Mukawa and Shikot is estimated by the present writer to have been between  
 [311] ca. 1000 and 2000 square metres. When the soil was exhausted the plot was  
 [134] abandoned and a new one prepared. In any valley there seems to have been  
 no shortage of land for cultivation in those days. The cycle of shifting cul-  
 tivation appears to have varied from area to area.

#### 22 Food-getting Activities.

182 Every individual of every species of animals must get its food in order  
 433 to sustain itself, and food-getting activities may claim to be of basic import-  
 178 ance in its existence. Up to comparatively recent times, before the introduc-  
 tion of agriculture in its rudest form, the Ainu had lived by hunting and  
 1. [Errata: the word "of" should read "to". Cf. errata sheet,  
 1 p. 164-A--Analyst]  
 2. [Errata: the word "from" should read "form". Cf. errata  
 1 sheet, p. 164-A--Analyst]



137 firs; *Abies sachalinensis* and *Picea jezoensis*, runs at an altitude of 1400 metres above sea-level, leaving the overlying zone to creeping-pines and grasses (INUKAI, 1943, p. 5).

13 (4) Kishida distinguishes two zoo-geographical regions in Hokkaido: the Highland and Lowland regions. The former is represented by the creeping-pine zone and one overlying it in the Taisetu volcanic mountain range. The latter includes the whole lower regions in Hokkaido and the Kurile Islands south of Rasawo. The brown bear, *Ursus arctos*, is found in both of the regions, while the deer, *Cervus nippon*, is found exclusively in the Lowland region (KISHIDA, 1930, p. 372; KURODA, 1937, pp. 71-72 and 79). See also Note 3.

175 (5) The contact between the Ainu and the Japanese has taken different  
648 forms. The following is summary made by the present writer from TAKA-  
KURA's study (TAKAKURA, 1942).

Before 1599, the contact must have been limited. In that year the Japanese Matumae clan, which was subordinate to the Tokugawa Shogunate, was established with its headquarters at Matsumae in the southwestern end of Hokkaido and with adjacent area, Matsumae-chi, as clan territory. There no residence was allowed to Ainus except those who had been living in the area hitherto. At the same time Japanese civilians were prohibited to live outside

[43] the area, that is, in the Ainu territory. The Matsumae had exclusive trading rights with the Ainu and established trading and fishing posts along the coast. They traded rice, rice wine, tobacco, salt, pans, knives, axes, needles, threads, lacquer wares, trinkets and so on, in exchange for salmon, skins, craft objects, and certain other items brought over from the continent such as Manchurian trinkets and clothing. During this period the Ainu continued to retain their independence. But in 1799, this part of Hokkaido came under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate for the purpose of protecting Japanese interests from the expanding Russian merchantile activities. In those days, foreign vessels, i.e. Dutch, Russian, English, and French ships for explorations, were often seen off the coast of Hokkaido, and the Russian colonization of the northern Pacific became active. As a result the Japanese trading stations were turned into military posts. The Japanese established a limited administrative organization over the Ainu territory but did little to interfere in their internal affairs except as requirements of defence dictated. Trading continued as before. In 1821 the Matsumae resumed the administration of

[44] the territory and continued the same policy. The Ainu were employed by the Japanese at those coastal posts. In 1854-67 the Matsumae-chi again came

● [177] under the direct control of the Tokugawa Shogunate. It seems quite reasonable to state that until 1867 the Japanese had relatively slight effect upon the life of the Ainu except through the distribution of Japanese goods among them.



175 whereby fishing in each district was consigned to some person who was placed  
648 concurrently in charge of the postal service in the area. In 1876 these temporary measures were formally all abolished, but a period of transition seems to have prevailed for some time afterwards (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, pp. 470-472).

(7) In 1868, with the establishment of the Japanese Government in place of the Tokugawa feudal government, Hokkaido came under the new Government. In that year the Government established its administrative headquarters and in the next year its colonial government, "Kaitaku-shi", in Hokkaido. The Ainu were enrolled in the Japanese census registers by 1875 or 1876 (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 419). Their territory became Government property; land laws were enacted for granting plots of land both to Ainu and Japanese settlers. [224] While the Ainu were prohibited from fishing salmon and hunting deer and [226] bears with poisoned arrows, the Government encouraged Japanese settlers to take up farming and keep cattle. Japanese fishermen and hunters came over with techniques superior to those used by the Ainu. Forestry and mining undertakings were set up. From 1883 onwards the Government encouraged the Ainu of Hokkaido to take up agriculture.

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177 (8) Each Ainu household was granted a plot of land, given agricultural implements and seeds, and received technical instructions from specialist Japanese officials. This land allotment to the Ainu population with accompanying agricultural instruction began in 1883 in the Ashoro district in Hokkaido and spread gradually to other areas throughout the island (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp. 486-491); in the upper Tokapchi area the project was carried out in 1886 (YOSHIDA, 1955, p. 6) and in the Azuma area in 1888 (A Chronological Table of Azuma Village History, compiled by the village office). Even before this date the coastal Ainu and part of the interior Ainu had farmed by shifting cultivation, probably under Japanese influence (Note 39) but only on a small scale (p. 41). The practice of agriculture before the land allotment was actually observed in various places by MATUURA, official of the Tokugawa Shogunate, on his explorations of the Ainu territory in Hokkaido in 1857-58 (Note 10).

[182] The introduction of agriculture thus encouraged by the Japanese administrators after 1883 resulted in considerable displacement in the traditional territorial groupings of the Ainu which had been correlated to fishing, hunting, and collecting tracts rather than to any terrain suitable for farming (Note 10).

175 (9) The time horizon for the Ainu life as treated in the present paper is  
648 roughly coeval with the final stage of the intermediate period (Notes 6-7),  
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[100]

during which the Ainu, especially those in the interior regions, still led their social life of independence based on gathering activities, with a minimum of intercourse with Japanese through trading and fishing labour. In Tokapchi, for instance, which forms a main subject area for the present study and where Japanese immigration and settlement came later than in other districts, practically no Japanese immigrants were found in ca. 1874 (Hokkaido-chō, ed., 1937, Vol. 3, p. 299). It was in 1882-1883 when a small party of Japanese settlers called "Banseisha" came to settle near Obihiro on the middle Tokapchi to open up the interior part of the river valley (Note 10). In the upper Tokapchi surveyed by the author not a single Japanese settler was found even at the outset of the land allotment and the agricultural coaching programme launched in that area in 1886 (Notes 8-10). As a result the Tokapchi Ainu remained free in their gathering activities and from Japanese pressure and influence till a comparatively later period. Hunting of deer in the entire Tokapchi area was banned in 1879 to all except the local Ainu (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 437); salmon fishing in the upper Tokapchi, which had been prohibited in 1883, was released later to local natives alone (TAKAKURA, 1942, p. 486). [175, 648, 177, 101]

According to the author's informants relating their own experiences, the contemporary social intercourse between the interior Tokapchi Ainu and Japanese was as follows. Conditions in the Azuma valley seems to have been much the same. Every year when it was spring, Japanese agents came by boat to the interior Ainu settlements in order to hire natives for employment at coastal fishing grounds. The selection of the persons to go was decided at the *ukosano*, assembly of the headman and house-heads of the local group. Such negotiations with Japanese were generally conducted by a representative called "ottena", an old title conferred by the feudal clan on native officers under the "bashi" system and still used among the Ainu after its abolition by the Japanese Government. Sometimes the title "ottena" was held concurrently by the traditional headman himself, as at Nitmap and Pipaushi in Tokapchi (Note 23, N12 and P6); sometimes it was held by some one else, as at Moseushi (Note 23, M3 and M14). Ainus hired for labour at the fishing coasts were mostly young men but included some women. Work for women, such as drying of sea-tangles, was sometimes over in a relatively short period; but work for men, chiefly salmon and sardine fishing, usually lasted well into autumn. On return home these men had immediately to go hunting at their huts with fellow members (for examples see Note 41, Shiokoro's and Shurunke's families). In reward for their service at the fishing coasts they received wine and foodstuffs, such as rice and salt. In spring Japanese fur traders also came to their settlements to exchange deer and bear skins, bark clothes and other products for articles of clothing, such as cotton fabrics, articles of taste and food, such as wine, tobacco, rice and salt. The [177, 648, 177, 462, 224, 465, 439, 000]

## The Ainu

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## The

- 177 southwestern and coastal Ainu, who had been in long and frequent contact  
411 with Japanese, were already in the initial stage of using firearms (matchlocks).  
The use, however, was still quite limited; on the upper Tokapchi, in particular, the native Ainu continued depending on their traditional hand- and spring-bows with accompanying poisoned arrows.

175 71. With the development of their administration and the expansion of  
 166 trading and fishing under their direction, there grew up increasingly larger  
 648 and more constant demand for workers of great variety for employment at  
 464 the trading and fishing posts and the watchhouses belonging to the guards.  
 [463] At these places almost all menial work was done by Ainus—cooking, night-and  
 farm-watch and lookout; charcoal making, firewood gathering and helping at  
 smithy, carpenter's shop and stable. Ainus worked also as courier, maid to  
 Japanese officials, transportation coolie, post-house driver, ferryman, etc. Some  
 of the Ainus in regular employment at Japanese establishments eventually  
 settled down around these posts in increasing number (TAKAKURA, 1942, pp.  
 175 236-246). The result in time was an emergence at coastal places of new-type  
 648 Ainu settlements with dependent life on Japanese. The strikingly greater  
 166 size generally of these settlements and the greater number of houses con-  
 361 tained as compared with older-type settlements may be seen from the field  
 177 surveys made by T. MATSUURA in 1857-1858 (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937). Except  
 for these, few Ainu settlements were found on the coast. A *pishun kotan*,  
 coastal settlement, whose inhabitants practised sea-fishing as voluntary occupa-  
 tion for subsistence, actually stood on river banks near the estuary and not  
 by the seaside (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62). The fact is borne out by T. MATU-  
 URA in his record of the distribution of native settlements and his description  
 about them which follows. "Formerly the natives always lived on river  
 courses and never at the seaside. People say that it was only with the de-  
 velopment of this district under Japanese management that the natives came  
 to live by the seaside and at the "unjoya", Japanese fishing and trading posts,  
 [433] to be employed as fishing hands" (MASAMUNE, ed, 1937, Vol. I, p. 170). Al-  
 [226] though the Ainus of *pishun kotan* voluntarily practised sea-fishing, it seems  
 almost certain from the field survey by the present writer that it came only  
 secondary in their scale of economy, which was always predominated by river-  
 fishing, hunting and plant-gathering almost as much as it was with the interior  
*kimun kotan* Ainu (WATANABE, 1954, p. 62).

Before the introduction of the land-allotment programme, in spite of such  
 changes in coastal settlements due to Japanese influence and the serious effects  
 in consequence on the ways of their life, the majority of the Ainu continued  
 their traditional life of gathering in their traditional settlements. The set-  
 tling of Japanese in the interior areas dates back only to quite recent times.

175 In order to see where and when Japanese immigrants came to settle in  
 167 the Ainu territory, information was collected from the census manuals for  
 363 1957 or 1958 of the local offices in the areas concerned. The results are tabu-  
 127 lated as follows:

241(39) Origin of plant cultivation among the Ainu.—According to the latest  
 175 research by TAKAKURA, the oldest literature on Ainu farming is contained  
 114 in "Recorded Talks on the Ainu" written by Kanzan MATSUMIYA who visited  
 Hokkaido in 1710 in company with the administration inspector of the Tokugawa  
 Shogunate (TAKAKURA, 1957). It is a simple description of the farming  
 conducted by natives in the vicinity of the Matsumae Area or clan territory.  
 Then comes a more detailed account in an official document of the Matsumae  
 feudal clan dated 1715, "A Report submitted by Matsumae Shimanokami in  
 the Fifth Year of Shotoku." The conclusion drawn by TAKAKURA is that even  
 before 1715 small-scale farming had been practised by the Ainu in south-west  
 Hokkaido but that no definite evidence is yet available to prove its introduc-  
 • [17] tion from the Japanese (ibid., p. 15). "A History of Hokkaido" states more  
 definitely that, in spite of its obscurity of origin, Ainu farming may be safely  
 regarded as modeled on Japanese farming in view of the crops grown and  
 the extent and the methods of cultivation. Millet, Deccan-grass and turnips  
 were about all the crops raised, and their cultivation, according to the Matsumae  
 report of 1715, seems to have been confined to the area between Shiraoi  
 in the east and Shikotan and southward in the west. There are, however,  
 indications that some farming was practised also in Tokapchi and at Shiranuka  
 in Kushiro (Hokkaido-cho, ed., 1937, Vol. 2, p. 215). Takeshiro MATSU-  
 URA, an official of the Shogunate who explored the Ainu territory in 1857-58,  
 recorded his observations of cultivated plots found all over the areas he  
 visited except the depths of such great rivers as the Ishikari, the Tokapchi  
 and the Teshio (Note 10). The old Ainu agricultural implements and techni-  
 ques are described in detail in HAYASHI's article (HAYASHI, 1958).

361(40) A generalized statement regarding the stability of Ainu settlements on  
 Hokkaido may be found in HABARA's quotation from 'The Aborigines of  
 Hokkaido' published by the Hokkaido government. "Nomadic habits are  
 unknown to the Ainu; however, they have not infrequently moved for reasons  
 such as pressure from other settlements or facilities found in a new site....  
 The great majority, however, have lived for generations in the same places"  
 (HABARA, 1939, pp. 73-74). The other quotations cited by HABARA from old  
 documents in discussing this problem and the interpretations of, and recon-  
 structions on, those documents offered by him, seem to impress the reader  
 as if the Ainu in general had a moving or migratory habit (ibid., pp. 107-  
 112). But as far as the inland Ainu surveyed by the present writer were  
 concerned, there is not the slightest evidence of a general habit of frequent  
 migrations, although at times some individual families moved for hunting  
 purposes or went on a visit to distant relations and, on rare occasions, might  
 even have stayed over several years, as seen in Notes 16, 24 and 25. Nor is



THE ABORIGINES OF THE SOVIET FAR EAST

groups of aborigines. These included over 300 Tunguz, over 100 Nivkhi\* and over 1,500 Ainu. Several hundred Ainu also came under Soviet rule through the annexation of the Kurile Islands. The Soviet Government has tried to strengthen its case for the undivided possession of Sakhalin by asserting that only the Russians were able to establish correct relations with the Ainu, while the Japanese oppressed them. The propagandists of the Soviet régime have even alleged that the Czarist Admiral Nevelskoy, who established Russian rule over Sakhalin, did so with the express purpose 'of defending the Ainu against the acts of violence of foreigners'. The Ainu, the propagandists affirm, gave enthusiastic support to the Russians when they landed in Sakhalin in 1853.<sup>44</sup>

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Zadornov, a Soviet writer of historical fiction on the Far East, tries to show that the Ainu are almost fanatically pro-Russian. He asserts in his novel *Distant Country* that the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin looked forward eagerly, throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, to the arrival of the Russian liberators. 'We have been waiting for them for many years, we have been waiting for the time when it will be possible to kill the Japanese', Zadornov's Ainu said.<sup>45</sup>

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In reality the Ainu of Southern Sakhalin did not seem to be very keen on killing the Japanese or driving them away. In 1875, when the Russian sovereignty over Southern Sakhalin became final, and when the Japanese formally renounced their rights on the island, 800 Sakhalin Ainu left for Hokkaido. They did not return until 1905, after the re-annexation of Karafuto by Japan. For a long time there was a considerable cleavage between these Ainu re-immigrants and their less advanced former fellow-tribesmen, who had never been away from their home island. This cleavage did not disappear until 1933, when all Ainu were granted Japanese citizenship. Originally the Japanese authorities on Karafuto had put five schools at the disposal of the Ainu minority, but when all members of this minority became full Japanese citizens, these schools were abolished, and the Ainu children transferred to Japanese schools.<sup>46</sup>

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Since 1945 the Ainu have frequently been mentioned by Soviet propaganda, and their case has become typical of the hypocrisy of Soviet nationalities policy. While several hundred thousand Japanese were expelled from the new Soviet territories, the Ainu were proclaimed 'equal members of the family of Soviet peoples', and at once granted the right to participate in the elections to the Soviet Parliament.<sup>47</sup> Soviet scholars immediately started to study the interesting Ainu people, and the Soviet Academy of Sciences even set up a special branch in Southern

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\* Under Japanese rule the Tunguz and Nivkhi lived in a native reserve near the town of Shikuka (Poronaysk). Their administrative head was the Karafuto 'reindeer-king', a Yakut, who, with his family, had fled from Soviet territory.



2: Schrenck--257 E-5 (1854-1856) 1881-1895 RX2 Gilyak

Ainu AB6

Early Japan AB3  
Feudal Japan AB2  
Sakhalin Island

A  
E.J. / 123 cont. / Many

175  
648 of those who refused to accept the yoke of the Japanese fled across the Ssangar Straits to their countrymen on Jesso. The

A  
[167] Japanese had first reached this island in 658 under Prince

E.J. Abehirafu and had founded settlements at the mouth of the

[361] Siribesi, which, however, were destroyed by the Ainu in

A  
E.J. 729 (3). Toward the end of the twelfth century (1189) the

● [177] 3. Siebold, Nippon, I, p. 125.

Japanese general, Jositsune, fled to Jesso and, as Siebold says (4),

4. Op. cit., pp. 126, 168.

sowed the first seeds of culture among the Ainu on the east coast.

A  
E.J. It was not until the fifteenth century (1443) (5), however, that the

[114] 5. Not in the fourteenth century, as Siebold, Aardr. en volk. toel., p. 93, says, in contradiction to his statement in Nippon, I, p. 126.

Ainu, and, to be sure, first those of southern Jesso, were

F.J. brought under the rule of the Mikado. It is not known definitely

175 when the Japanese, advancing northward, first crossed over to

654 Sakhalin (Krafto), but at the beginning of the seventeenth century

(1605-1622), Kinfiro, the Governor of Matsmai, had already

sent out expeditions to make a map of Sakhalin, but they only

advanced to Ussijam and Naritari (6) with the greatest difficulties,

F.J. [113] 6. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki, ou Descr. de

l'île de Jesso /Jeso-ki, or Description

of the Island of Yesso/," transl. from

the Japanese by Titsingh (Annales des

Voyages, ed. by Malte-Brun, Vol. XXIV,

Paris, 1814, p. 162). Likewise, obviously

from the same source, Klaproth in the supple-

ment to Rinsifée's, San kokf tsou ran to sets,

Ainu ABC  
Fesal Japan A02  
Sakhalin Island

FJ. /123 cont./

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[113]

6. (cont.)

ou Apercu g  n  r. des trois royaumes,  
Paris, 1832, p. 192. Cf. also Siebold,  
Nippon, I, p. 126, where the first  
place is called Usisjam (in Klaproth,  
and others, also Utsusijam).

and then followed, after a longer interval, the voyages of Mogami  
Tok'nai and of Marmia Rins  . Finally, the southern Kuriles /124/  
were accidentally discovered no earlier than 1672 by a coastal  
vessel driven off course (1).

1. Kannemon, "Jeso-ki," op. cit.,  
p. 210; Rinsif  e, San kokf tsou ran  
to sets, p. 209; Siebold, Nippon,  
I, p. 126.

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175

The first information on the Ainu, and, to be sure, first  
on those of J  sso, that Europeans collected comes from the  
sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. We owe it to the Jesuit  
Fathers, Aloisius Froes (1565) and Hieronymus de Angelis (1622),  
to the representative of the English Trading Company, John Saris  
(1613), and to the head of the Dutch trade in Japan, Fran  oys  
Caron (1639 and 40). A few years later (1643) the Dutch seafarer  
Vries came into contact not only with the Ainu on Jesso, but also  
on Sakhalin, in the bays of Aniwa /Aniva/ and Patience, and on  
the southern Kuriles (2). All the writers named give their notes,

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2. Witsen, N  ord en Oost Tart., ed. of  
1692, Part 2, pp. 46-62; ed. of 1705,  
pp. 128-152. Siebold, Aardr., etc.,  
pp. 93 ff. Bickmore, "The Ainos or  
hairy men of Yesso, Sakhalien and the  
Kurile Islands," pp. 14 ff. (Amer. Journ.  
of science, May, 1868). The latter says

/126 cont./

3. (cont.)

Taraika is mentioned as a special place on Krato (Annales des voyages, Vol. XXIV, 1814, p. 162), while over a century later Rinsifée uses the name Taraikaï for the entire country. In recent times still another name has been given as the Ainu designation for Sakhalin: according to Dobrotworskij ("Ainsko-russk. slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/." -- Uchen. Zap. Kazansk. Univers., 1875, Appendix, p. 32), among the Ainu this island is called "Trepun-mosiri" (Mizul /Mitsul/ in his Ocherk" ostrova Sakhal. v" sel'sko-khoziaistv. otnosh /Sketch of Sakhalin Island with Reference to Its Agricultural System/, St. Petersburg, 1873, p. 126, gives as such a name "Trenun-mussir," or simply "Mussir," that is, island), and accordingly the Ainu from Jesso are said to call their countrymen on Sakhalin "Trepun-mosiri-utara." Finally, it should be mentioned here that besides the above-mentioned names for Sakhalin, the Japanese have many others; it is supposedly called "Narubesi" (San kokf. etc., p. 189), "Kita--sima," i.e., island to the north (of Jesso; cf. Siebold, Nippon, VII, p. 198), or also simply "Kita-Jeso," northern Jesso (Araï Tsikugo, "Jeso-ki," op. cit., p. 205), etc.

Even though Vries does not designate the natives in the Gulf of Patience with any special name, there can be no doubt on the basis of his description but that in fact Ainu were involved, and not, say, Orok or Gilyak, who, as was shown above, come in contact with the Ainu in that part of Sakhalin, though in small numbers. Thus, we meet this people in 1643, more than two

/333 cont./

175 It is in general use among the Ainu, the closest neighbors  
342 of the Gilyak. According to Mamia Rinsô's /Rinzô Mamiya/  
description (1), the Ainu of southern Sakhalin first dig a pit of

1. "Tô-tats kiko" (Siebold, Nippon, VII,  
p. 184).

3-4 ken (2) into the ground, then drive in posts at the corners,

[114]

2. According to Siebold, 6-8 meters, which  
would be too deep, however.

and over that erect a roof of tree bark and branches which pro-  
jects over the entrance and thus forms a place in front from which  
steps lead down into the dwelling. The interior arrangement,  
too, is very similar to the Gilyak earth yurts, except that the  
hearth is on one side, next to the steps, and has an opening in  
the roof over it, whereas only occasionally, when it is especially  
cold, is a fire made in the middle of the room on the ground  
between the lateral sitting and sleeping places; this needs to be  
done only rarely, however, because these dwellings, as Mamia  
Rinsô expressly stresses, are extremely warm throughout.  
Rudanofskij (3), Busse (4), Dobrotworskij (5), and others have given

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3. In the written notes on his trip through  
southern Sakhalin in the winter of 1853/54,  
which he made available to me for my use;  
the same in Podvigi russk. morsk. ofits. na  
krain. vost. Rossii 1849-1857 g., posmertnyia  
zap. admir. Nevel'skago /Feats of a Russian  
Naval Officer in the Far East of Russia, 1849-  
1857, Posthumous Notes of Admiral Nevel'skoi/,  
ed. by V. Vakhtin, St. Petersburg, 1878, p. 296.

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4. N. Busse, Ostr. Sakhalin" i Eksped. 1853 i  
54 gg., dnevnik" s" 25. Avg. 1853 -- 19 Maia

$\frac{1}{2}$  [i.e. The earth yurt -- Analyst]

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4. (cont.)

1854 g. /Sakhalin Island and the 1853-1854 Expedition, a Diary from August 25, 1853 -- May 19, 1854/, St. Petersburg, 1872, pp. 97, 98.

5. M. Dobrotvorskii, "Iuzhnaia chast' ostr. Sakhalina, izvlech. iz" ego voenno-medits. otcheta za 1868 g. /The Southern Part of Sakhalin Island, as Derived from Its Military-Medical Report for 1868/" (Izv. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Vol. I, Nos. 2 and 3, Irkutsk, 1870, p. 29); also in his Ainsko-russkii slovar' /Ainu-Russian Dictionary/, Kazan, 1875 (Supplement to Uchen. Zap. Imp. Kaz. Univ. 1875 g.), p. 35.

195 detailed descriptions of them from which one learns that the  
342 sleeping places extending along the two sides of the yurt are low  
352 plank-beds, as among the Gilyak, but are equipped with drawers,  
354 in which I see Japanese influence; that, furthermore, on either  
[199] side where the plank beds begin, there is a hearth, but in smaller  
[191] yurts only one in the middle of the dwelling, just as in the Gilyak  
earth-yurts, and over the hearth there is an opening in the roof for  
the smoke to escape; and, finally, for the latter purpose a pipe  
sometimes runs from the hearth to the entrance and rises out of it  
[184] at a height of about half an arshin, etc. Like the Ainu of Sakhalin  
those of Jesso /Yesso/ also live in earth yurts in winter (6).

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6. Golovnin", Zap. o prikliuch. ego v" plieniu u Iapontsev" v" 1811, 1812 i 1813 gg. /Notes on Adventures during Captivity among the Japanese in 1811, 1812, and 1813/, St. Petersburg, 1816, Pt. III, p. 164.

Goldi RX3

Orok

Ainu AB6 ●

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/406 cont./

(Figs. 1a-1d) quite similar to what we discovered above in connection with the Gilyak, and ibid. (Fig. 10) illustrates an Orok box for fire equipment that is shaped exactly like the peculiar Gilyak mlo. Similarly the implements that I acquired from the Orok during my fleeting encounter with them in the Tymy Valley (needle-box, bone picks, etc.) and those that Poljakof brought home to us from his long stay among them (drills and other instruments, which will be discussed later) cannot be distinguished on the basis of their form or their decoration from Gilyak specimens of the same type.

Aside from the Gilyak in the Gulf of Patience, the Orok also frequently come in contact with the Ainu, and one might therefore expect to find in their clothing and other activities many an emanation from another center of fashion located in Japan, but such does not appear as far as I know, evidently because the oppressed and often impoverished and wretched Ainu are not in a position to exert such an influence as can the free, relatively prosperous, active and vigorous Gilyak, who maintain constant trade relations with the Chinese.

I myself had too little contact with the Ainu to be able to add anything new to what has already become known from various sources concerning their clothing. It is only to be noted that though their clothing materials are in many respects the same as those of their neighbors on Sakhalin, the Gilyak, in particular dog and seal fur, fish skin, and Chinese cotton cloth brought to them by the Gilyak, one immediately realizes from the cut of their clothing that they are under the rule of a different, and, to be sure, Japanese, center of fashion. The clothing of the Ainu consists chiefly of two or more dressing gowns /Schlafröcken/ worn one over the other, the outermost of which is sometimes made out of the above-mentioned fabric woven locally out of nettles or tree bast, or, in winter, dog skins. Trousers are not always worn, and as a rule there is no head covering in summer, or else there serves for that a shallow, conical straw hat of Japanese form. On their feet the Ainu wear sealskin or fish-skin boots with legs of the same material of dog skin; for walking trips, shoes plaited out of



/411 cont. /

080 animals for what the latter were doing to them.

302 Exactly the same hair style as the Gilyak have is found  
191 among their nearest neighbors, the Negda, Oleha, and their  
000 fellow tribesmen -- the Orok on Sakhalin (1). It may be pre-

1. Mamia Rinsô ("Tôtats-ki ko," in Siebold's Nippon, VII, p: 189) has already noted for the Orok that they do not cut their hair, but let it hang down over the shoulders or wear it wound into a thick plait at the neck.

A  
302 It may be pre-  
197 sumed that formerly the Ainu, too, had the same or a similar, more or less natural hair style, until they fell under the rule of the Japanese, and under pressure from them, as a sign of submission, adopted their present hair style, essentially similar to the one of the Japanese. As is known, the Japanese shave the hair on the forehead and crown, and at the back of the head they do not let it grow as long as do the Chinese nor plait it in a braid, but cut it to a certain length all around and gather it into a lock which, tied with a ribbon, rests on the crown in the direction of the forehead. Now, with the exception of this last point, which for a primitive people would be too elaborate and inconvenient and also require too much attention and care (2),

2. For example, in order not to disarrange their hair when sleeping, the Japanese, instead of a pillow, use a small wooden bench that is hollowed out to conform to the shape of the head.

A  
195 the Ainu imitate their rulers. As early as 1622, Father  
302 Hieronymus de Angelis reported that the natives of Jesso /Yesso/  
197 shear their hair in front so that there is no hair at the temples, but in the back wear it as long as the Japanese (that is, without a braid hanging down) (3), and Vries added that the women

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3. Witsen, Noord en Oost Tartarye, second edition, Amsterdam, 1705, Part II, p. 57.  
Siebold, Aardrijks en volkenkund. toelicht., Amsterdam, 1858, p. 94.

there sometimes shear it all around like the men and sometimes allow it to grow long and put it up like the Japanese women (4).

4. Siebold, op. cit., p. 100.

According to Broughton (5), the women wear their hair, even

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5. A Voyage of discov. to the North Pacif. Ocean, London, 1804, p. 105.

though they cut it all around, longer than the men. According to Krascheninnikof (6), the Ainu of the Kurile Islands shave the

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6. "Opis. zemli Kamchatki /A Description of Kamchatka/" (Poln. sobr. uchen. putesh. po Rossii, Vol. II, p. 258).

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hair from the forehead to the crown, but the women cut it only in front so that it does not fall into their eyes: From the photographs presented above (Pl. IV) it can be seen that the Ainu of southern Sakhalin, men and women, have the above-mentioned hair style. /412/ Farther to the north, however, where the Japanese rule comes to an end, the Ainu give up the hair style imposed upon them by the Japanese and wear their hair as the Gilyak do, that is, completely unshorn and plaited into a braid hanging down in the back. And, to be sure, they do this not only, say, on the west coast of Sakhalin in the border places where they live intermixed with the Gilyak, such as Ktheus (Ktaus), Porokotan (Gilyak Pilja-wo) (1), but also along the

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1. Fr. Schmidt, "Histor. Ber. über den Verlauf der physik. Abtheil. der Exped.

/412 cont. /

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1. (cont.)  
der Russ. Geogr. Gesellsch. "Historical  
Report on the Progress of the Physical  
Section of the Expedition of the Russian  
Geographical Society/" (Beiträge zur  
Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, Vol. XXV,  
p. 65).

[184] east coast north of Ussuro, near Esturi, etc. (2), where there are

2. Mitsul'; Ocherk "ostr. Sakhalina, St.  
Petersburg, 1873, p. 129.

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no Gilyak at all. This is not merely a consequence of the Gilyak influence upon the Ainu, ~~as in some pieces~~ of their clothing and elsewhere, but an act of political manifestation: as a sign that they have emancipated themselves from the rule of the Japanese and henceforth want to have nothing to do with them, they adopt the hair style of their neighbors who remained untouched by the Japanese yoke, one which they (as I suspect) -- and perhaps the tradition of it has been preserved among them -- even had themselves before they submitted to this yoke. Hence the Ainu regard the braid hanging down the neck as a symbol of freedom and independence from the Japanese. By the way, the pressure exerted by the latter on the Ainu regarding the hair style was limited to the head hair, but they did not have to cut off the beard, and, as is well known, it is extremely heavy among them, on account of which, as the Jesuit missionaries of old report (3), some of them carry a special little stick with them,

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3. For instance, Father Aloisius Froes in a letter dated 1565; see Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht., etc., p. 93. Cf. also Schmidt, "Histor. Bericht," etc., p. 93.

Ainu AB6  
Goldi RX3  
Manchu AG4A  
302 /412 cont./  
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with which they lift the mustache while drinking, an instrument that the other tribes on Sakhalin and in the Amur region, with less heavy or scanty beards, do not need.

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302 The Ainu experience with the Japanese in regard to their  
171 hair style is similar to that of the peoples living on the mainland  
from the Olcha upstream along the Amur and its tributaries with  
the Chinese. The Samagir on the Gorin and the Goldi differ  
Gi  
[184] sharply from their related neighbors, the Negda and the Olcha,  
with respect to their hair style: on the whole front of the head,  
from temple to temple, the hair is shaved off or cut short, and  
the rest is plaited into a braid hanging down the back (see Pl.  
III). This hair style is so common among them that it is even  
found on the Goldi living dispersed among the Olcha. As is well  
known, however, this is also the present hair style of the Chinese.  
In ancient times, however, the Chinese did not shave the hair on  
the front of the head, but let it grow all over and treated it with  
great care by gathering it together at the crown, tying it with a  
strip of cloth or a ribbon, decorating it with gold wire, etc. In-  
deed, it is said that at the time of the Han Dynasty (179-155 B.C.)  
one form of punishment for a crime was to shave off the culprit's  
/413/ head hair (1). Only after the presently ruling Manchu

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1. Pauthier, Chine moderne ou descript.  
hist., géogr. et littér. de ce vaste emp.  
Part II, Paris, 1843 (L'Univers), p. 231.

dynasty ascended the Chinese throne did a governmental edict require the present hair style of Manchu type -- a measure which frequently encountered the most violent resistance, produced uprisings and rebellions, and in part could be carried out only by the force of arms (2). The peoples of the Amur region under

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2. Neuhof, Die Gesandtsch. der Ost-Indisch.  
Gesellsch. in den verein. Niederländ. an den  
Tartar. Cham u. nunmehr auch Sinisch. Kaiser  
/The Embassy of the East Indies Company in  
the Territories of the Netherlands to the Khan of

Tungus RUS  
Southeast Siberia RX1  
Goldi RX3  
Ainu AB6

T /415 cont./  
302 southern part of their habitation area, along the eastern slopes of  
171 the great Chingan Mountains, around the tributaries of the Nonni,  
177 along the Nomin, Ganj, Gufu, etc., where they live in com-  
[13] plete dependence on the Daur and indirectly on the Chinese (4).

4. See p. 94 above.

they also certainly share the hair style of the latter, it gradually disappears going northward, and along the upper Amur and its northern tributaries, where, /416/ in spite of the Treaty of Nerchinsk, they have actually always remained under Russian influence and Russian rule, they have also retained their original and natural hair style, with the hair completely unshorn and either simply hanging down or tied up in a bunch on the crown (1).

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1. Gerstfel'd", "O pribrezhn. zhitel. Amura"  
(Viestn. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Pt. 20, 1857,  
Sec. on Res. and Mat., P. 296). F. Busse,  
"Ocherk" uslovii zemled. v" Amurskom"  
kraie /Essay on the Agricultural Conditions in  
the Amur Region/" (Zap. dlia chteniia, izdav.  
k. Trubnikovym", August-December, 1869,  
p. 116).

Thus, the way of wearing the hair among all the indige-  
nous peoples of the Amur region is a sign of their dependence on  
or independence of the Manchu-Chinese, or, on Sakhalin, the  
Japanese. The boundary up to which the Chinese, among the  
Amur peoples, or on Sakhalin the Japanese, hair style extends  
designates at the same time the boundary of the effective rule  
of the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese over these peoples. It is a  
political, not an ethnographic border line: in the western part  
as well as in the eastern part of the Amur region and Sakhalin  
it runs across the habitation area of the peoples concerned  
(Orochon, Orochi, and Ainu), only at certain points separates  
closely related tribes (for example, the Olcha from the Samagir

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Tungus RUS  
Goldi RX3  
Southeast Siberia RX1  
Ainu ABL

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/416 cont./

and Goldi), and nowhere coincides with the boundary of such fundamentally different peoples as the Gilyak on the one hand and the Amur Tungus or Ainu on the other. Inasmuch as the degree of the dependence of the Amur peoples on the Manchu-Chinese or Japanese is of the greatest importance with regard to their whole existence and lives, however, this border line is also of great ethnographic interest.

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Like the hair style, there is another aspect of the external appearance which to some extent characterizes individual peoples of the Amur region more than the clothing does -- it is the adornment worn on various parts of the body.

All the natives of the Amur region, and among them the Gilyak, have the use of earrings, or, more properly, ear pendants, in common. They consist either of only a silver or copper wire bent into a ring at the upper end and wound to a spiral shape at the lower end (small earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 7)<sup>1</sup> or of a silver wire bent into the shape of a large ring, on the upper and lower parts of which are strung large glass beads or circular disks of a grayish-white or greenish-white stone (jadeite) and pierced in the center (large earring, Pl. XXIX, Fig. 6). The men always wear only one earring in each lobe, the women, however, often two and three large pendants, sometimes several inches long, in each one, the weight of which distends the ear lobes far downward. Among Gilyak children I have occasionally seen, besides the metallic ring, a tuft of fox hair worn at the ear lobe, which may serve as protection against the cold as well as adornment. It is noteworthy that, aside from the earrings, the /417/ Gilyak, Olcha, Orok, and, as far as I know, also the Negda wear no other ornament on a head or facial part. Among the Samagir on the Gorin, the Goldi, and the Orochi, however, there is a second and similar ornament, which, to be sure, is limited to the female sex (1), among

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1. Only once, quite as an exception, did Maack (Putesh. na Amur, p. 224) see this

<sup>2</sup> [See category 116, p. 1009--Analyst]



G /449 cont. / Mamia Rinsô (4),  
323 to be sure, reports about the Ainu of southern Sakhalin that they  
171 make earthenware vessels, and, to be sure, of two kinds, the  
A one of about six to seven inches in diameter with ears on two  
323 sides, tojes'ju, i. e., earthen pans, the other called kamui'sju,  
171 i. e., divine pans, but one cannot fail to recognize the recent  
A Japanese origin of this art. In the seventeenth century, when  
175 Vries and his companions discovered Jesso and the nearby Kurile  
172 Islands, they saw the inhabitants of them eating from lacquered  
415 wooden bowls /450/ and quadrangular troughs (1), and just such

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113 1. Siebold, Aardr. en volkenkund. toelicht.  
tot de ontdekk. van Vries /Geographical and  
Ethnographical Explanations from the Discover-  
ies by Vries/, P. 108.

bowls, but no earthenware vessels, are among the articles that  
Poljakof found, besides skulls and bones, in old Ainu graves on  
Sakhalin and presented to our museum. Concerning the ancient  
Kamchadal, one finds, to be sure, in the report of the Cossack  
Atlassof published by Witsen (2), the information that they

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113 2. Noord en Oost Tartarye, ed. of 1705,  
p. 673.

K  
172 manufacture for their own use earthenware and wooden vessels,  
but the former are more than questionable. Steller and  
Krascheninnikof saw only wooden vessels among them, and  
Ditmar (3), while digging on the sites where their yurts had once

K  
113 3. "Reisen und Aufenthalt in Kamschatka  
in den Jahren 1851-1855 /Travels and  
Residence in Kamchatka in 1851-1855/"  
(Beitr. zur Kenntn. des Russ. Reiches, third  
series, Vol. VII, p. 246).

stood, only once found, among numerous stone tools, a small  
piece of earthenware, which crumbled in his hands because it  
had not been fired, or at most only slightly, and which he thought  
was a train-oil lamp shaped by hand.  
4. Op. cit., p. 184.

/454 cont./

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Subsequently, however, just as for seatang fishing (4), they have

4. See p. 674 ff. above.

also learned more efficient methods for the catching of trepang from the Japanese, who pursue these sources of food in the waters of Sakhalin and Jesso with the same zeal as the Chinese (Man-dse) on the opposite Manchurian coast from about Vladimir Bay to the Korean border (5). But though the sea is the principal source of

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5. The center of seatang fishing along the Manchurian coast is Nachodka Bay (Vostochnoe Pomor'e, 1866, p. 16). The most and best seatang is taken between it and Olga Bay. That from around Possjet Bay is inferior to this, and all the more so to the Japanese seatang (op. cit., p. 79, note, and p. 89). Vladivostok is famous among the Man-dse on account of the trepang fishing that takes place in its vicinity (op. cit., p. 16). Further information concerning the Man-dse methods of seatang and trepang fishing, the volume and sales of the catch, etc. is to be found, in addition to the periodical named, in Lopatin ("Obzor" iuzhn. chasti primorsk. oblasti vost. Sib. za r. Suifunom" /Survey of the Southern Part of the Maritime Oblast of Eastern Siberia beyond the Suifun River/. -- Zap. Sib. Otd. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., Book VII, 1864, p. 191), Busse ("Ocherk" uslov. zemled. v" Amursk. kraie /Essay on Farming Conditions in the Amur Region/. -- Zap. dlia chteniia izdav. Trubnikovym", Aug.-Dec., 1869, p. 124. The same in Petermann's Geogr. Mittheil., 1871, p. 91), Przewalski (Putesh. v" Ussuriisk. kraie /Journey in the Ussuri Region/, pp. 86 ff.), and others.

262 /454 cont. / But Though The Sea is The Principal source of food for the Ainu to such a great extent, a number of products of terra firma are of the greatest importance for them. Among all the land animals, they, like the Gilyak, pay the greatest attention to the bears, common on Sakhalin as well as on Jesso, whose meat and fat are highly prized by them and consumed only at festive gatherings, to which I shall come back later in connection with the discussion of the Gilyak bear festivals. It has already [231] been mentioned above that the Ainu also eat dogs, their only domestic animal, used to draw their sleds. Finally, as in the [171] above, so also do the Ainu correspond to the Gilyak with regard to their diet in that they consume many vegetable products of their country, berries, roots, herbs -- for the most part even the same /455/ kinds (1) -- and likewise always with the addition of seal oil (2).

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1. Cf. Schmidt, "Reisen im Amur-Lande und auf der Insel Sachalin, Botanischer Theil" (Mém. de l'Acad. Imp. des sc. de St. Pétersb.; VIIth series, Vol. XII, No. 2, pp. 98, 210 ff.). Even the old Dutch mariners (Siebold, Aardr. en volkenk. toelich., p. 108) noted, among other things, that the Ainu on Jesso stored up rose hips for the winter, as we have seen above for the Gilyak, especially on Sakhalin.

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2. Mamia Rinso (op. cit., p. 183) says: the Ainu "add fish oil to everything in the hope that they will then remain free of all stomach pain, even if they have eaten something poisonous."

262 On the other hand, the fact that the Ainu practically entirely lack  
 • 177 the above-mentioned Manchu-Chinese cereals, which have largely become a necessity for the Gilyak, and instead of them Japanese rice is a common foodstuff, and, indeed, workers in the service of the Japanese is at times even the principal and, in addition to

Ainu AB6  
Goldi RX3  
Orok

A /455 cont. /

262 a little fish and oil, almost the only food (3), clearly indicates  
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[465]  
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3. In that they are paid daily for their work with a few handfuls of rice from the Japanese.

that the Ainu are under the influence of a different culture than the Gilyak.

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226 The third people on Sakhalin, the Orok, are, to be sure,  
231 chiefly ichthyophagous and, as a consequence of the location of their habitation-area along the seacoast, are destined to get their principal food from the sea, but the circumstance that, in addition to the dog, they keep another domestic and draft animal, the reindeer, and by means of it lead a seminomadic life, brings about a not unimportant modification of their food situation in contrast to the Ainu and Gilyak. In the summer and fall, the seasons of the year which the Orok spend on the seacoast to fish and hunt seal and to prepare supplies for the winter, again principally jukola, seal oil, and various berries and roots, their food consists almost exclusively of fish. Poljakof, who spent several weeks during the summer of 1881 among the Orok in the region around the mouth of the Tymy, which they visit annually because of its wealth of fish, described their daily diet during this period of the most active fishing in the following manner: the first meal, taken early in the morning, consists of a fat salmon head (from Salmo lagocephalus); then in the course of the day jukola roasted over the fire follows, with seal oil and fish with various plant accompaniments, such as roots, cedar nuts, and especially berries, which are mixed with finely chopped or even pre-chewed (!) fish; and a fat salmon head again ends the day (4). The nomadic life

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4. Poliakov", Putesh. na ostr. Sakhalin"  
(supplement to Vol. XIX of Izv. Imp. Russk. Geogr. Obshch., p. 89).

262 The nomadic life  
231 of the Orok and the smaller number of dogs satisfying them very  
224 considerably lessen their need for winter provisions, and all the